



Colonel Richard Meinertzhagen

MIDDLE EAST DIARY 1917-1956



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Preface

This book is not intended to be a serious historical document dealing with Zionism, the Palestine Mandate and the Sovereign State of Israel. It is but a contribution to these subjects, based on my diaries, correspondence and various official documents; there are many inconsistencies and repetitions, the former due to my intellectual evolution vis-a-vis Zionism and the latter due to persistence in repeating and repeating my views in the hope of convincing those who opposed them. The book represents my own personal connection and activities in the ultimate establishment of Israel—bringing the Jews back to their old Home after nearly 2,000 years of dispersal and persecution—to my mind the most constructive and important outcome of the First World War.

It is said that a Diary should be autobiography, history and literature. There is no pretence at literature; parts of my diary might fill in some historical gaps.

I have criticized many persons who are dead; some may object that this is unfair; but never in history has death conferred on men an immunity from criticism and I make no apology for including in this book my opinions of those who cannot reply. A diary is a day to day comment, not a digested opinion; but I have not omitted passages and opinions with which I thoroughly disagree today.

Mr Dennis Cohen is responsible for the inception of this book. In March 1958, whilst browsing among my seventy volumes of diary, he was impressed by various hitherto unpublished passages which he regarded as of historical importance, at the same time, with pathetic insistence, urging me to allow him to publish these in connected book form.



With my foreign-sounding name it is inevitable that the ignorant and offensive should, when roused to anger, apply German nationality to me and a Jewish origin: 'German Jew'. The name is, in fact, of Danish origin and, so far as I can trace, there is no Jewish blood in my veins, nor has there ever been; for some 400 years ago, a direct ancestor of mine was Archbishop of Cologne after the reformation. But on three occasions I have been dubbed, in malice, a Jew. The first occasion was in Kenya in 1905 when I reported a member of the administration for gross dishonesty. He lost his job and referred to me as a 'bloody Jew', the worst abuse he could produce.

The second occasion occurred during the First World War when I was Intelligence Officer to the East African Expeditionary Force in Nairobi. A local newspaper owned by a Mr Davis published an article attributing our failure at Tanga to the fact that the Intelligence Officer was a German Jew. With the full authority of the Commander-in-Chief I interviewed Mr Davis, compelled him to publish a special number containing an unqualified apology and closed his printing office for seven days.

The third occasion emanated from the eccentric Mr Philby of Arabian repute who, in a letter to an American and anxious to demonstrate the broad-mindedness of the Saudi administration, wrote 'Yet, within the last three months an English Jew has been allowed to travel freely in this country in search of birds, being received by the King and entertained at places through which he passed'. That was written in 1955 just after a trip across Arabia by the Court Jester of Riyadh.

Maybe if I had Jewish blood in my veins I might be more intelligent than I am; but there is none.

As a boy I was profoundly influenced by two outstanding characters, the one, the Rev C. T. Hales, headmaster of my private school Aysgarth in Yorkshire who prided himself on character-building; he was a man of action, avoiding talk; he would constantly be saying to us boys 'Don't stand there talking, do something' or 'What are you gaping at, do something about it'. It taught me action as opposed to talk and argument. Perhaps it made me impetuous. When in the Army I was often told that I rushed my fences. Perhaps

x





I did, but I often got over them where others hesitated.

The other outstanding character was Herbert Spencer, the old philosopher, with whom, as a boy we saw a great deal when we accompanied him on long walks in the country. He was always repeating 'Observe, record and explain'. All my life I have observed and recorded, but alas, my unscientific mind scarcely ever enabled me to explain. Throughout these pages, the effect of Hales and Spencer are apparent.







CHAPTER I

'The Middle East is a delicious meat, but it poisons those who eat it.' Gobineau.

Introduction to Zionism

My interest in the return of the Jews to Palestine is as old as my eighty-odd years. As a child my mother used to relate that her grandmother, Mary Seddon, whom she remembered as a 'gypsy-like old lady', was so keenly interested in the return of the Jews to their old home, that she collected a handful of Jews in England, bought a white donkey and started off for the Holy Land, immediately after the Napoleonic wars. The old lady was an eccentric but determined in her mission. She got as far as Calais with her white donkey but her following had deserted; her husband had to cross the Channel and bring her back, donkey and all.

My second contact with the Jews was in 1903 when I was stationed at Nyeri in Kenya. I wrote my diary on 28.x.1903:

There is a plan afoot to offer the Jews a home on the Uasin Gishu Plateau. I hope they refuse for it is just asking for trouble. In the first place, the Jews' Home is in Palestine, not in Africa. The scheme would only add to political confusion and, God knows, there will be enough trouble here in fifty years when the natives get educated. Also, the Jews are not good mixers—never have been; they have their own religion, customs and habits and would constitute a most indigestible element in





East Africa if they came in any numbers. Why not persuade the Turks to give them Palestine? The Arabs are doing nothing with it, and the Jews with their brains and dynamic force would be a tremendous asset to Turkey.

This ill-advised scheme appears to have started early in 1902 and came to the ears of Sir Charles Eliot, then High Commissioner of East Africa, who forwarded to the Colonial Office a letter from the East African Syndicate in which it was stated 'there are rumours that it is also intended to establish a colony of Jews in the Naivasha Province of Kenya'. Lord Lansdowne, in reply on October 15, recommended a postponement of the scheme. There was, for some reason, a desire for a rapid colonization of Kenya and it was suggested that a colony of Finns be settled in the Kenya Highlands. A haste to achieve solvency and pay for the expensive Uganda Railway produced a series of undigested brainwaves. British settlers were not entering the colony as fast as the Colonial Office wished. Eliot frowned on the Finnish scheme and it was dropped to be replaced almost at once by the scheme of colonization by the Jews. Joseph Chamberlain, who was in sympathy with the Zionist movement and disgusted with Russian persecution, pressed for Jewish colonization in East Africa; but the Jews naturally looked to Palestine whilst a section of them regarded the East African Scheme as 'an antechamber to the Holy Land, a place of apprenticeship'. 5,000 square miles of Kenya were offered to the Jews with the promise of self-government under a Jewish governor. The Zionist Congress in 1903 voted for acceptance of the offer and a Commission was sent to Kenya to report. The Commission arrived in November 1904 and visited the Uasin Gishu Plateau, but what with elephants by day and lions by night, together with an encounter with Masai warriors in full war regalia, they decided that Kenya was no place for Russian Jewry. The Zionist Congress endorsed the Commission's decision and the proposal was dropped. An ill conceived catastrophe had been averted and Kenya was saved from a complication which would have only added to her difficulties of today.

In 1910 I visited Odessa where I witnessed a pogrom which had a lasting effect on me, binding me more closely than ever to a National Home for the Jews in Palestine. What I saw in Odessa





on my thirty-second birthday still remains for me one of the most terrible scenes I have witnessed. I record in my diary:

5.III.1910. Odessa

I have been shocked beyond belief. I have seldom been so angry and yet so impotent as I have been today. I would never have believed that human beings could behave worse than the most savage and cruel wild beasts; worse, because their behaviour was intended to be cruel and brutal and what they did was done with relish; I witnessed a Pogrom in the streets of Odessa. I was having dinner with our Consul General Smith when it started. There was some running and shouting in the streets. Smith and I went to the front door of the Consulate and saw people running excitedly in all directions and much hysterical shouting. Smith said 'I fear this is a pogrom, we had one here some years ago; we must keep off the streets as the Russians become quite irresponsible and the police become immobile; now you will witness one of the vilest facets of the Russian character'. We watched. The streets were well lit and we could see well in both directions; there was also a small square in front of the house. Russians, many with bludgeons or knives or axes, were rushing all over the place, breaking open barricaded doors and chasing the wretched Jews into the streets where they were hunted down, beaten and often killed. One old man was axed on the head quite close to us. I was longing to interfere and beat up some of these Russian wild beasts but Smith restrained me—fortunately. A young woman chased by a Russian rushed frantically into the Consulate and collapsed on the door-mat; her pursuer pulled up short on seeing us. I abused him in English; Smith said 'For God's sake, don't provoke them; they're mad'. Another Jewish youth was chased, beaten into the gutter, viciously kicked, robbed and left unconscious. By this time, the streets were in an uproar, much noise but not a policeman in sight. A large window of a store was smashed and the shop entered, looted and thrown into the street. The climax arrived when a Russian passed the Consulate dragging a Jewish girl of about 12 years old by her hair along the gutter; she was screaming and the man was shouting. I have no doubt she would have been outraged and then murdered. I could not help it, I heard





old* Hales' voice whispering 'Do something'. So I dashed out, kicked the Russian violently in the stomach with my heavy Russian boots and landed him a good blow on the jaw; he went down like a log and I carried the child into the Consulate. Smith said 'We shall get into trouble for this'. Trouble indeed, when compared with the fate of this child. I am overcome with anger and compassion this evening.

Smith has been in Odessa for ten years. He tells me that some years ago when the Russian revolution was in full swing, it was decided to have a pogrom in Odessa. Many Jews were warned of their impending danger and succeeded in bribing the revolutionary leaders not to molest them, but some 400 Jews were nevertheless killed. The pogrom lasted three days and was organized by the Minister of the Interior in order to demonstrate to the Tsar that the people were not yet fitted for self-government. On the first day of the pogrom all the police were withdrawn from Odessa, and remained away for three days. After that time, an order went forth that the military must stop the massacres; this was effected in a few hours. Some of the rioters, on being shot in the streets, bitterly complained that they had not had their full three days promised by the authorities. Smith assured me that the above was strictly accurate and that a full report with proof had been sent at the time to our Foreign Office.

I am deeply moved by these terrible deeds and have resolved that whenever or wherever I can help the Jews, I shall do so to the best of my ability. There is no word in the British language to describe such vile and bestial behaviour.

I was also much influenced by the Divine Promise that the Holy Land will forever remain Israel's inheritance. Also that the Holy Land is inseparably intertwined in the Jewish Faith and the Jewish people. The upbuilding of Palestine by Jews and for the Jews is a fundamental Jewish religious duty. Also by Balfour's statement: 'The position of the Jews is unique. For them race, religion and country are interrelated as they are interrelated in the case of no other race, no other religion and no other country on earth.'

* The headmaster of my private school, see p. x.





Mr Eban has said of Israel 'Her difficulties are the only possessions which nobody has ever tried to take away.' Nothing, except the opportunity to build a National Home in Palestine, has ever been given to the Jews; they have for 2,000 years been despoiled by humanity, despised, ostracized and abused.

Before starting on my Diary I should like to make some general remarks and comments on Jews and Zionism.

In 1917 I was transferred to Egypt to take charge of General Allenby's Intelligence Section. I arrived in Cairo on May 24, having embarked on the 'Transylvania' at Marseilles on May 3. We were torpedoed on the 5th when I spent five hours in the water before being scooped up by a Japanese Destroyer. The Intelligence Section was divided into two parts—Political and Field. I was in charge of Field; the late Sir Wyndham Deedes was in charge of Political. Now, for the first time in my life, I found myself in close working association with Jews and soon recognized their intelligence and valour. I employed some fifteen, all refugees from Palestine, all of splendid physique and to my astonishment fair-haired and blue-eyed. They worked as a team, the leader being Aaron Aaronsson. This remarkable man was the most daring and unassuming agent, the equal of the Dutchman Pretorius whom I had previously employed in Tanganyika. I am not at liberty to divulge many of his exploits as it would publicize methods better kept secret. This splendid man was killed in an air accident over the British Channel during the Paris Peace Conference; at the time sabotage was rumoured, but there are no grounds for such a suggestion.

I had not yet (December 1917) come into direct contact with Zionism; on December 2, 1917, I write at Rafa in my diary:

2.XII.1917. Rafa

The political state of Palestine is somewhat complex and presents several problems difficult to solve; the elements are Turk, Arab, Jew, Syrian and a host of minor influences, with a powerful German control over the whole country. We also have the petty jealousies of France and Italy who regard our every action with suspicion. I cannot pretend to understand the problem completely as a whole, but the Arab and Jew elements have been uppermost, I have a fair idea of their attitudes towards us.





As most of my Intelligence agents have been either Arab or Jew, I have come into fairly close touch with their ideas and their relations one to another.

The Arab is dominated by his religion. However much he appreciates the benefits of British rule and despises the serfdom of Turkish domination, he always remembers that we are unbelievers and as such must not be tolerated. He rejoices at the temporary relief we have given him from the Turkish yoke, but the joy is temporary and he will soon long for the return of his old masters; he has not yet thought of Nationalism. His hatred of us is partly suspicion and partly religious. He is sensible to our justice and honesty, but even this cannot weigh against fanaticism; and so it will remain, so long as the stagnant and intolerant Moslem religion meets the more practical but somewhat less religious Christian.

2.XII.1917. *Richon, Palestine*

The Jew, or rather the Zionist, regards us frankly as the instrument sent by God to fulfil the Promise and restore the Holy Land to Israel. As such we are everywhere welcomed, and a very sincere relief is felt throughout all Jewish Colonies at the final removal of the Turkish yoke, which to them spelt oppression, massacre, a hopeless future and an effective check to peaceful development, whether industrial or agricultural. Under our rule they are confident that all their effort toward industrial colonization, which is considerable, will bear fruit. It gives Zionism a tremendous impetus.

I am stopping this evening in a Jewish Hotel in a Jewish Colony (Richon) and have frequently discussed the Zionist movement with hard-thinking and responsible Jews. They are a quick-witted intelligent people, who have made for themselves a great future in Palestine and they intend to follow their destinies out here to their ultimate goal, namely a thriving and well-governed Palestine for the Jews. They have a tremendous belief in themselves and a persistent determination and steadfastness of purpose which is unbounded and surprising after their long banishment and persecution. Their history alone makes one wonder how they have preserved their nationality for so long. And for all these long centuries they have waited





and waited till at last it has come. Never have they been so near to realizing their ideals. Very naturally they are drunk with energy, emotion and excitement.

The true Zionist has no politics or political activity. Neither should we create any political electricity among them. They are not working only for the purpose of becoming prosperous: their whole life in Palestine is their ideal, but it is not politics; it is the establishment of Jewish communities and customs in a country which was for so many years their own and where was evolved that greatest of great creeds—Mono-theism, which has influenced humanity more than any other idea. These Jewish villages are organized cultural bodies which should help and amplify the task of a good government. Their little village governments are communal and afford fertile soil on which to build our Palestine administration. They regard the Arab population as lazy, reactionary and bitterly hostile to their occupation. They have tried to live beside the Arab and be friendly to him but no amount of kindness or humouring will make the Arab love them or even like them.

Such then are two of the elements which face the Political Officer in this new territory. But one thing is sure. The Jew, however small his voice, however mild his manner, will in the end be heard and he will succeed. The Arab will trumpet and bluster, others in Europe and America will sing his praises if the local orchestra breaks down, but he will remain where he is and has for ever been, an inhabitant of the east, nurturing stagnant ideas and seeing no further than the narrow doctrines of Mohammed.

The Arabs of Ramleh gave us an amusing incident yesterday which accurately reflects their attitude towards us. A large batch of Turkish prisoners was being marched through the village but they were not preceded by their British Guard. The Arabs, thinking it was the return of the Turkish Army, turned out in force, yelling with delight and waving Turkish flags: it was not till the end of the column appeared and they saw British soldiers with fixed bayonets that they realized their mistake and great was their confusion. Their faces fell with a bump and they slunk disconsolate to their hovels.





After the capture of Jerusalem in January 1918, I was transferred to the War Office where I commenced work on February 1, 1918.

6.II.1918. *War Office*

A most unfortunate day. Freddie Maurice, D.M.O. and my immediate Chief, told me when I arrived in the War Office that the head of the Zionist organization was coming to see me at 11 a.m., so when a foreign and dark looking individual was ushered into my room at that time I concluded that he was a Jew and interested in Zionism. I was anxious to hear all about Zionism but I noticed that the conversation always drifted on to the Armenians and the awful massacres which the Turks had perpetrated against that unfortunate people. I deplored these massacres but was not really in the least interested in the Armenians. I had come into contact with many Armenians and disliked them. They are troublesome, unattractive, stupid and will not co-operate with anyone. I was continually endeavouring to persuade my foreign visitor to discuss Zionism but he still persisted in deploring the state of the Armenians. I tried to close the conversation on Armenians (for I was very busy) and said, 'I'm not much interested in the Armenians. The Turk knows how to treat them.' And in jest I drew my hand across my throat. My visitor glared at me and remarked, 'I am an Armenian.' There was nothing to be done but apologize and I fear even that was far from adequate. I explained that I thought I was talking to the head of the Zionist organization and a Jew. My visitor said his name was Malcolm. So Mr Malcolm picked up his hat and went. I was so sorry to have hurt his feelings and I fear he will have no high opinion of British soldiers.

7.II.1918. *War Office*

Lunched with Lady Crewe; both Asquith and Balfour were there, also Walter Rothschild who showed me a copy of the Balfour Declaration, this latter document monopolizing the conversation. It is an ambiguous document and can be interpreted in many ways; it does not deny sovereignty to the Jews but I cannot see how a Jewish State can ever be established which would not prejudice the civil and religious rights of the Arabs.





The document gives with one hand and denies with the other and to me is disappointing. I put a straight question to Balfour. 'Is this a reward or bribe to the Jews for past services and given in the hope of full support during the war?'

Both he, Walter Rothschild and Lady Crewe were indignant. Balfour at once said, 'Certainly not; both the Prime Minister and myself have been influenced by a desire to give the Jews their rightful place in the world; a great nation without a home is not right.' I said I was glad to hear that. I then asked, 'At the back of your mind do you regard this declaration as a charter for ultimate Jewish sovereignty in Palestine or are you trying to graft a Jewish population on to an Arab Palestine?' Balfour waited some time before he replied, choosing his words carefully 'My personal hope is that the Jews will make good in Palestine and eventually found a Jewish State. It is up to them now; we have given them their great opportunity.' Asquith kept out of this and Walter Rothschild was quite incoherent. I said to Balfour 'That scarcely answers my question'. He told me I was a most persistent young man and thought his answer was clear enough. I remarked that if this declaration did in the end found a Jewish State, it would be the only good thing which came out of this miserable war and I hoped H.M.G. would give the Jews all the assistance they wanted during the first difficult years. But I am not happy about the dubious wording of the document. Anti-semites, and God knows the world is full of them, will use the document against the Jews. I want to meet Weizmann.

12.II.1918. *War Office*

Lunched with the Crewe's where I met Mrs Leopold Rothschild, a violent anti-Zionist. Her contention is that the theory of Jewish Nationality was the only obstacle to her whole-hearted support of Zionism. She claimed nothing more than religion for the Jews and strongly deprecated the idea of a Jewish Nation, though she agreed that if Zionism in Palestine evolved a Jewish Nation, she would support it. I argued that Zionism had already produced a Jewish Nation and that it was unreasonable for her to oppose her own peoples' aspirations when they were so noble. I told her that I thought the chief opponents to Zionism were





worshippers of the Golden Calf (Rothschilds, Montifiores, Swaythlings and Montagues) and that she obviously belonged to this class, who had everything to lose by witnessing a Sovereign Jewish Nation in Palestine. I also told her that I believed Bolshevism almost synonymous with Zionism, the latter differing only in being more organized and progressive, and devoid of slavery and cruelty.

12.II.1918. *War Office*

Dined with Sir Percy Cox and had a long talk about the future of the Near East. He disapproves of Zionism and mistrusts the Arabs. So what?

13.II.1918. *War Office*

Have been busy most of the day with our future military policy in Palestine, but am hampered by no decision being possible till Smuts, who has gone to Palestine, forwards his report advising on military policy. It is curious that we should have to rely on a Dutchman for advice which could be given by either the War Office or Allenby.

Visit from James Rothschild who is just off to Palestine to join the Jewish Battalion. He begged that he might be spared the discomforts of a troop train, but as I cannot see why he should have preference, I declined to help him.

20.II.1918. *War Office*

I have seldom met such insistent people as the Jews. Not content with guaranteeing that all Jews enlisted in America should be posted to British Jewish Units, they now ask that all Jewish Units be sent to Palestine. We have agreed to this rather extraordinary demand, which of course is both asked and granted for purely political reasons. The Zionists are certainly looking after themselves and their beloved Palestine and small blame to them.

5.III.1918. *War Office*

Milner sent for me this afternoon and expounded a huge scheme for extracting salt from the Dead Sea and asked the War Office to work out the details of it. I explained that this was





not a General Staff question but more concerned the Ministry of Munitions, though we would give the scheme any assistance we could. It appears that Germany has the monopoly of the world's supply of potash and that by utilizing the potash from the Dead Sea we should be in a very strong position at the Peace Conference. But Milner said his colleagues on the War Cabinet had not yet decided whether the proposition should be Government or private enterprise.

Down it surprised me to find Cabinet Ministers worrying themselves over such trivial matters and I fail to grasp Milner's argument about Potash and Peace.

17.III.1918. *War Office*

Since I have been in the War Office I have often had to go and see the King in Buckingham Palace to explain to him the progress of the campaigns in East Africa, Palestine and Mesopotamia. I had a long talk with him today, mainly on personalities and not on strategy or tactics. He is much more interested in Smuts, von Lettow, Allenby, etc., than he is on the progress of the campaign. As usual he did most of the talking and gave me little chance of explaining detail. He seems to take it for granted that German East Africa, Palestine and Mesopotamia will come under the British Crown at the end of the war and outlined his ideas on the subject. He particularly desired Palestine for biblical reasons. He made some remarks about the 'final crusade'. I said that already Palestine had been promised as a National Home for the Jews but he envisaged the Jews coming in as a member of the Empire. I thought that a splendid idea and will no doubt eventuate if we behave reasonably but there are already signs of serious anti-semitism in Whitehall and efforts to stultify the Balfour Declaration. From campaigns, the conversation drifted on to stamps. He apparently knows Louis* and has seen his stamp collection and then of course I had to go and see his stamp collection. I was there altogether over an hour.

10.VII.1918. *War Office*

Doctor Weizmann, head of the Zionist Federation, called on me today. I found him a very enlightened and interesting man.

* My brother.





He explained the reasons for the formation of the new Zionist Committee in Palestine and asked for the increase of the Jewish Battalions now being formed. This matter I am taking up. Weizmann is an enthusiast about Palestine and the Zionists, and a fanatic if such a clever man can be so termed. He is however an enemy of society and his real aims go further than Zionism, for they encompass the destruction of all society which hinders revolutionary ideas. He leaves for Palestine in a few days and will no doubt be a thorn in the side of our Civil Administration out there. He is very naturally a violent enemy of the Arabs, and in this matter alone he will get scant sympathy from our officials, though I personally am prepared to back Jew against the Arab every time. The Jew means progress and perhaps the upsetting of modern governments, the Arab is stagnation and stands for immorality, rotten Government, corrupt and dishonest society.

First impressions are often wrong.





CHAPTER II

Peace Conference

In January 1919 I was transferred to the British Delegation at the Paris Peace Conference.

My work covered the German African Colonies, the Middle East, and of course Zionism. Weizmann and his wife were in Paris and a host of others—important and unimportant. I have never been so hard-worked and achieved so little. Conferences, interviews, memoranda on every conceivable subject, entertainment, late nights and hard at it, talking or writing all day and most of the night. No time for thought.

30.I.1919. *Paris*

Weizmann dined with me last night and told me what the aims of the Zionists were.

He wants the recognition of the League of Nations to the historic title of the Jewish People to Palestine and the right of the Jews to reconstitute in Palestine their National Home.

He lays down the boundaries as follows. On the north from Sidon to the foot hills of the Lebanon over the dividing line between the eastern and western slopes of Hermon and then close to but west of the Hedjaz Railway. In the east a line close to and west of the Hedjaz Railway terminating at the Gulf of Akaba. In the south a frontier agreed on with the Egyptian Government and in the west the Mediterranean.

The Sovereign possession of Palestine to be vested in the League of Nations and the Government to be entrusted to Great Britain as Mandatory Power.





Fullest freedom of worship for all creeds, and no discrimination among the inhabitants with regard to citizenship and civil rights.

The historic title of the Jews to Palestine is indisputable but I disagree with the boundary claims. The correct eastern boundary for Palestine is the Sea of Galilee, Jordan and Dead Sea, as judged on ethnical grounds. On economic grounds it may be desirable to go further east, but it is encroaching on purely Arab territory. Weizmann argues that if he cannot go east of Jordan the many millions of Jews who eventually come to Palestine will be crowded out. I also disagree with the southern boundary going to Akaba. If they want an outlet to the Red Sea I should sooner cede Sinai to the east bank of the Suez Canal. After all, the Jews have considerable claims to Sinai, both on historic and religious grounds; they are the only people who have wandered about there for forty years, and we received the ten commandments on Mount Sinai. By 'we', I mean Moses.

I had a long talk with Weizmann about Bolshevism. He agreed that Zionism was 'constructive Bolshevism' as opposed to the destructive form in Russia. But he denied that the Jews were at the back of Russian Bolshevism. He despises the Peace Conference and doubts its ability to frame a lasting Peace. I asked him for his frank view on Bolshevism, to which he replied—If Christ were to come to Paris now, he would preach Bolshevism. Do you think any Christian Nation would now give Christ a Passport to travel freely in Europe? Even He would be refused.

12.II.1919. *Paris*

I have altered my views on Zionism for two reasons. In the first place I regard the position of the Jews in the world mosaic of nations as most unsatisfactory. That a great people like the Jews should not have a home of their own is a monstrous injustice. They must not only have a home but it must be their own where they can exercise sovereign rights. Secondly a contented prosperous Jewish people in Palestine would lend great strength to the British Empire in the Middle East. The Balfour Declaration, which Weizmann regards as a great document, a charter of freedom, is in fact a paradox, meaning nothing at all, like so many other things emanating from A. J. B.



I had a long talk with Weizmann today and advised him to go all out for Jewish Sovereignty in Palestine. He might get it now, whereas in a year's time it will be impossible. I told him I would help him all I knew. I have good reason to believe that Lloyd George and Wilson will support him. Clemenceau and the Italians would of course oppose it as they have schemes of their own in the Middle East. But Weizmann thinks the time inopportune and might wreck the whole idea of Mandatory Zionism. I am sure the Arabs will accept anything from the Peace Conference but would never accept a Jewish Sovereign State imposed by Great Britain in say five years' time. There are vast anti-semitic forces at work even now in London and elsewhere but they are as yet incoherent and powerless to intervene in Paris. In five years' time they will be in a position to deny to the Jews their rights.

I have consulted Smuts who was a bit doubtful at first but eventually agreed to support me. Venizelos agrees. Henry Wilson is enthusiastic on strategic grounds. I tried the Japs but they were not interested and would only go so far as to say they would support the idea if the others proposed it. But I fear W. is afraid of it at present lest it wreck the whole show. He thinks that once the Jews get a foothold in Palestine they will absorb the whole country. He doesn't know H.M.G. I got Lawrence to agree and he has promised Feisal's support. I have also advised that the Palestine boundaries extend east to cover the whole of Moab and south to Akaba. I should also give the Jews Sinai and compensate Egypt elsewhere.

This letter was written to Felix Frankfurter as representing the Zionist Delegation in Paris. It was drafted by Feisal, Lawrence, Weizmann, Frankfurter and myself.

DELEGATION HEDJAZIENNE

PARIS

1.III.1919

DEAR MR FRANKFURTER,

I want to take this opportunity of my first contact with American Zionists to tell you what I have often been able to say to Dr Weizmann in the past.

We feel that the Arabs and Jews are cousins in race, have





suffered similar oppressions at the hands of powers stronger than themselves, and by a happy coincidence have been able to take the first step towards the attainment of their national ideals together.

We Arabs, especially the educated among us, look with the deepest sympathy on the Zionist movement. Our deputation here in Paris is fully acquainted with the proposals submitted yesterday by the Zionist Organization to the Peace Conference, and we regard them as moderate and proper. We will do our best, in so far as we are concerned, to help them through: we will wish the Jews a most hearty welcome home.

With the chief of your movement, especially with Dr Weizmann, we have had and continue to have the closest relations. He has been a great helper of our cause, and I hope the Arabs may soon be in a position to make the Jews some return for their kindness. We are working together for a reformed and revived Near East, and our two movements complete one another. The Jewish movement is national and not Imperialist, and there is room in Syria for both of us.

Indeed I think that neither can be a real success without the other.

People less informed and less responsible than our leaders and yours, ignoring the need for co-operation of the Arabs and Zionists, have been trying to exploit the local difficulties that must necessarily arise in Palestine in the early stages of our movements. Some of them have, I am afraid, misrepresented your aims to the Arab peasantry and our aims to the Jewish peasantry, with the result that interested parties have been able to make capital out of what they call our differences.

I wish to give you my firm conviction that these differences are not on questions of principle but on matters of detail such as must inevitably occur in every contact of neighbouring peoples, and are as easily adjusted by mutual goodwill. Indeed nearly all of them will disappear with further knowledge.

I look forward and my people with me look forward to a future in which we will help you and you will help us, so that the countries in which we are mutually interested may once again take their place in the community of civilized peoples of the world.

Believe me, Yours sincerely,
(signed) Feisal





On March 24, 1919, I lunched with Lloyd George and Philip Kerr. We talked Zionism the whole meal. I tried to tie L.G. down to ultimate Jewish Sovereignty; he thought it was much too soon to start discussing the ultimate goal of Zionism. I also spoke a great deal about the sovereignty of Sinai and urged L.G. that H.M.G. should announce annexation. This interested him and he asked me to send him an unofficial memoranda on the subject. I therefore wrote the following on March 25, 1919:

25.III.1919. Paris

Personal

MY DEAR PRIME MINISTER,

You asked me yesterday to send you an unofficial letter on the subject of the sovereignty of Sinai. I regard this question as supremely important—not at the moment but in years to come. May I enter more fully into the question than I was able to do yesterday.

We are very wise in allowing the Jews to establish their National Home in Palestine; we have also freed the Arabs from the Turkish yoke and we cannot forever remain in Egypt. This Peace Conference has laid two eggs—Jewish Nationalism and Arab Nationalism; these are going to grow up into two troublesome chickens; the Jew virile, brave, determined and intelligent. The Arab decadent, stupid, dishonest and producing little beyond eccentrics influenced by the romance and silence of the desert. The Jews, despite dispersal, have distinguished themselves in the arts, music and science and gave Britain one of its distinguished Prime Ministers.

In fifty years time both Jew and Arab will be obsessed with nationalism, the natural outcome of the President's self-determination. Nationalism prefers self-government, however dishonest and inefficient, to government by foreigners however efficient and beneficial. Nationalism moreover involves the freedom of the State but ignores the freedom of the individual; it is a sop to professional politicians and agitators, and may involve gross injustices to the people.

A National Home for the Jews must develop sooner or later into sovereignty; I understand that this natural evolution is





envisaged by some members of H.M.G. Arab nationalism will also develop into sovereignty from Mesopotamia to Morocco.

Jewish and Arab sovereignty must clash. The Jew, if his immigration programme succeeds, must expand and that can only be accomplished at the expense of the Arab who will do his utmost to check the growth and power of a Jewish Palestine. That means bloodshed.

The British position in the Middle East today is paramount; the force of nationalism will challenge our position. We cannot befriend both Jew and Arab. My proposal is based on befriending the people who are more likely to be loyal friends—the Jews; they owe us a great deal and gratitude is a marked characteristic of that race. Though we have done much for the Arabs, they do not know the meaning of gratitude; moreover they would be a liability; the Jew would be an asset.

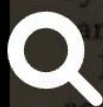
Palestine is the corner-stone of the Middle East; bounded on two sides by the desert and on one side by the sea, it possesses the best natural harbour in the Eastern Mediterranean; the Jews have moreover proved their fighting qualities since the Roman occupation of Jerusalem. The Arab is a poor fighter though an adept at looting, sabotage and murder.

I now come to Palestine's position *vis-à-vis* Egypt. The Egyptians, even with superior numbers, are no match for an inferior Jewish army. But as modern weapons—tanks and aircraft—develop, offensive power rests more and more on weapon proficiency than on human bravery and endurance. That is why I regard Egypt as Palestine's potential enemy.

With Jewish and Arab nationalism developing into sovereignty and with the loss of the Canal in 1966 (only 47 years hence) we stand a good chance of losing our position in the Middle East. My suggestion to you yesterday is a proposal to make our position in the Middle East more secure.

Previous to 1906 the Turkish-Egyptian frontier ran from Rafa in the north to the neighbourhood of Suez. The whole of eastern and southern Sinai was part of the Hedjaz province of the Ottoman Empire. In October 1906 Egypt was granted *administrative rights* in Sinai up to a line drawn from Rafa to the head of the Gulf of Akaba, Turkey expressly *retaining the right of sovereignty*. General Allenby with British forces, unaided by the





Egyptian Army, conquered and occupied Turkish Sinai which, by right of conquest, is at Britain's disposal. This bare statement can be verified by the Foreign Office.

If Britain annexes Turkish Sinai, the following advantages accrue:

1. It establishes a buffer between Egypt and Palestine.
2. It gives Britain a strong foothold in the Middle East with access to both the Mediterranean and the Red Sea.
3. It gives us room for a strategic base and, with Jewish consent, the best harbour in the Eastern Mediterranean.
4. It not only places us in a position whence we can frustrate any Egyptian move to close the Canal to British shipping, but it enables us to build a dual canal connecting the Mediterranean with the Red Sea.
5. No question of nationalism can arise in Sinai, as its nomad inhabitants are but a few thousand.

Signed
R.M.

Philip Kerr acknowledged this letter, asking if I had any objection to it being sent to Curzon and Balfour for their comments. I replied that I had no objection. But I heard no more about it.

Philip Kerr told me later that Lloyd George had approached President Wilson on the subject of British sovereignty in Sinai and that the President was shocked as it ran contrary to his fourteen points and would leave Egypt with a permanent and righteous grievance against Britain. But I felt that Wilson's objection was based on fear of British influence in the Middle East being strengthened—the early stages of American jealousy of British supremacy which was much resented by American immaturity and lust for power.

I spoke to Eyre Crowe and Vansittart begging them to sound the Americans about it. They told me later that as the Americans are not at war with Turkey they were not interested but that they strongly deprecated parcelling out Arab territory without the consent of the Arab inhabitants of Sinai. I thought that a fine exposure of ignorance. The Arabs of Sinai! A handful of nomads



ignorant and careless of sovereignty and only wishing to be left alone in peace.

Paris

30.v.1919.

Personal Note to D.M.O.

Request for Publication of H.M.G. Policy in Palestine.

There is no question that Jewish feeling, not only in Palestine but all over the world, is becoming impatient and anxious for fear of an uncertain future. The main grievance rests on a belief that Great Britain contemplates going back on the Balfour declaration that Palestine is to be the National Home for the Jews.

It is again urged that an official statement be made by H.M.G. that the Balfour Declaration stands.

The increasing evidence of the anti-Jew attitude of our Palestine Administration, if true, shows that Jews in Palestine are little better off than Jews in Russia. If this is allowed to continue it can only lead to trouble, and has already alienated many influential American and Continental Jews from the British. The remedy is obvious, namely, a clear definition of policy in Palestine and instructions to the Administration that the Arab is not to be considered the most-favoured element in Palestine. In justice to the British reputation for impartial government, we should inform the Palestine Administration in no uncertain voice that anti-Jew sentiments must not be tolerated in official circles in Palestine. We do not wish to have a second Ireland in a corner of the world where we want the greatest loyalty and solidarity.

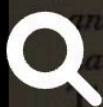
R. Meinertzhagen
Col.

30.v.1919. Paris.

In early 1915 a secret Anglo-French agreement allotted Alexandretta and Syria to France, whilst Britain retained Haifa and Palestine.

Under the Sykes-Picot Agreement concluded on May 16, 1916, France received Alexandretta, Syria, Lebanon and a large slice of Asia Minor, whilst Britain received the port of Haifa and Palestine. At the same time Sir Henry McMahon





promised the Sherif of Mecca most of Syria including Damascus and most of Arabia. For a long time it was not clear if McMahon had promised Palestine to the Sherif, but in a letter to The Times he stated categorically many years later that he had not promised Palestine to the Sherif.

3.1.1919. *Paris*

The Middle East is in a horrible mess owing to lack of policy. I think I shall write a memorandum to the D.M.O. on the subject embodying the following points.

In Syria we have refused a mandate whilst France demands it for herself. Feisal refuses to recognize a French mandate over Syria, demanding it for himself. The French wish to take over Syria at once but have been told they cannot do so until an International Commission has visited the country. We have promised that no more French troops will land in Syria until the International Commission's report has been received. This Commission is bound to fail and produce indecisive results. The American Commissioners have left Paris for Syria, ours are awaiting orders in London and the French refuse to nominate Commissioners. What a mess.

We are committed to the National Home for the Jews in Palestine. Feisal recognizes the National Home. H.M.G., France and the U.S.A. have openly pronounced in favour of the National Home. The Arabs are openly hostile to the National Home.

Neither French nor Arab aspirations in Syria can be settled without armed clash unless we take a very strong line in Paris. Similarly in Palestine there can be no reconciliation between Jew and Arab without a firm policy. The proposed International Commission for Palestine is already a laughing stock and can achieve nothing.

I shall propose that a British Commission be sent to Syria to ascertain the wishes of the Syrians and that France be told that we shall abide by the findings of that Commission. That the International Commission be disbanded.

That Allenby be told that the Balfour Declaration stands and that he so informs both Feisal and the Palestine Administration.

It is only by taking a firm line that we shall avoid chaos and





Return now



bloodshed. The present wobbles of politicians are most disheartening. All talk and no action.

14.vi.1919. *Paris*

Yesterday I met an Italian called Bianchini who professed to be a keen Zionist and had just returned from a prolonged visit to Palestine. He poured out many complaints against the British Administration in Palestine, asserting that they are encouraging the Arabs to oppose Zionism, that the Arabs are being granted privileges denied to the Jews, that the police are corrupt and that the Jews regard the Administration as half-hearted regarding the National Home.

I also met Colonel Stirling of General Clayton's staff who confirmed Bianchini's statement, adding that Ronald Storrs is playing a double game, pretending to favour the Jews whilst intriguing against them.

It is clear that the political state of Palestine is unhappy and that is due to lack of a clear policy by H.M.G. and their failure to make it abundantly clear that the National Home is the declared policy of H.M.G. Also the Palestine Administration must be purged of those elements hostile to Zionism.

I have written a memorandum to the D.M.I. embodying these remarks.

Weizmann tells me that when he met Clemenceau with a view to enlisting his sympathy with the National Home, that he found him unsympathetic and remarked 'We Christians can never forgive the Jews for crucifying Christ', to which Weizmann remarked 'Monsieur Clemenceau, you know perfectly well that if Jesus of Nazareth were to apply for a visa to enter France, it would be refused on the grounds that he was a political agitator'.

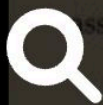
26.vi.1919. *Paris*

Whilst in Paris I collected some sayings of the great.

The following are some of the minutes by Balfour and others, showing what difficulty we have in obtaining decisions here in Paris.

Asking Foreign Office opinion regarding the future of Cyprus





and whether it was proposed to use the Island as a bargainable asset:

'I have read six papers on Cyprus, most of which are bad. I now propose to write one myself.' A.J.B.

Asking Foreign Office opinion about the removal of British Troops from the Dobrudga:

'Has any International Committee reported on the future fate of the Dobrudga.' A.J.B.

Question as to whether the Greeks should be permitted to annex Smyrna and proceed now to occupy the Vilayet:

'I may add that Hellenism has never really been much more than skin-deep in the Central Highlands of Anatolia.' A.J.B.

'I cannot see any justification in any principle of nationality for disturbing the existing state of affairs in Smyrna.' E. Montagu.

Despatch reporting bad relations between Great Britain and Portugal, and asking for Foreign Office remarks:

'Unfortunately the above remarks are very true'. Hardinge.

'I should be glad to have any practical suggestions.' A.J.B.

Report of Italian intrigues against Greeks in Asia Minor:

'If true, this is most reprehensible conduct on the part of the Italians.' Hardinge.

'I agree, but what can be done to stop it.' A.J.B.

Question of moving Italian Troops to Asia Minor and asking for Foreign Office Policy:

'I wish to be clearly understood that no decision which I may give on these papers is to be regarded as in any way binding on myself or the Foreign Office.' A.J.B.

Question of withdrawing British Battalions from Fiume, which was recommended by the C.I.G.S. who asks the Foreign Office for a decision:





'This request should be forwarded to and replied to by Lord Curzon.' A.J.B.

Question of definition of responsibility between French and British Commanders in Anatolia, in which the C.I.G.S. asks that General Franchet be given a clear policy and that something be done at once:

'Nothing, I am afraid, can be done, except General Franchet's death or removal. But should not the Americans do something.' A.J.B.

Question on whether America or Italy is more suited as Mandatory Power over Anatolia:

'I do not like the Italian Mandate, but what can we do for them.' A.J.B.

Question of Italians seizing an Island in the Dodecanese and proclaiming it part of the Italian Empire in direct contravention of the Peace Conference. The Foreign Office asks for Balfour's opinion:

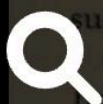
'The Italians, not content with troubles with the Yugo-Slavs, now want to pick a quarrel with the Greeks.' A.J.B.

30.VII.1919. *Paris*

I heard yesterday that I had been appointed Chief Political Officer for Palestine and Syria, on General Allenby's Staff, and that I am to take up the work as soon as possible. Not knowing anything of the nature of the work I shall be required to do, or of the policy I shall be required to administer, I went and interviewed Balfour today; bounced in to lunch.

He said that he was an ardent Zionist and that His Majesty's Government was committed to Zionism as our policy in Palestine. His reasons for being a Zionist were complex, but were mainly based on the unsatisfactory position of the Jews in the world. There were many and powerful opponents to Zionism, headed by several rich and influential Jews. Their main argument was that a race which had for so long been parasites on other nations was not likely to succeed in an enterprise which was entirely Jewish. To this Balfour would reply that the Jews





had not yet had a chance of proving their nationality or of successfully establishing themselves as a Nation.

Balfour went on to say that he himself was not in favour of a British Mandate over Palestine, but that he would not oppose it. The Prime Minister was very anxious to secure a British Mandate for purely sentimental reasons.

He defined the policy of H.M.G. as follows: All development, industrial schemes of all kinds, and financial assistance must be based on the principle that Zionists are the Most-favoured Nation in Palestine. All preparatory work done before the final destiny of Palestine is settled must be similarly based on the same principle. He strongly deprecated all forms of speculations in Palestine, explaining that it would be disastrous to the success of Zionism.

He thought President Wilson a sincere and capable man, but one who gave little thought to the carrying out of ideals, and who brooked no argument or criticism directed against his principles. He considered the famous fourteen points were badly conceived and positively harmful, more especially the one encouraging small nations to self-determine. It had led to unnecessary bloodshed, and had aroused a degree of greed and jealousy which was formerly unknown among these small peoples. He agreed however in principle to the creed of self-determination, but it could not be indiscriminately applied to the whole world, and Palestine was a case in point, and a most exceptional one. To those who argued that the fate of Palestine should be decided by a Plebiscite, in which case the Arabs would have an overwhelming majority, he would reply that in any Palestine Plebiscite, the Jews of the world must be consulted; in which case he sincerely believed that an overwhelming majority would declare for Zionism under a British Mandate.

He explained that in deciding the boundaries of Palestine, economic grounds must count much more than military or strategic considerations, and that if the water necessary for successful development lay as far north as the Litani and Hermon, then the Jews must include both these places in Palestine. The eastern boundary of Palestine must be up to but excluding the Hedjaz Railway.

I said I did not think that Arab opposition to Zionism would





last for an instant in any obstructive form, if we once made it clear that Palestine was to be the National Home of the Jews and that H.M.G. was determined to see its policy through. Arab opposition would therefore be futile and would not be tolerated. He promised to despatch a telegram in this sense to General Allenby.

Balfour said he was very distressed at the Syrian muddle, all the more so as he perhaps was personally responsible for it. We had not been honest with either French or Arab, but it was now preferable to quarrel with the Arab rather than with the French, if there was to be a quarrel at all. I remarked that we must now decide between agreeing to French aspirations and abandoning Arab dreams in Syria, or we must openly oppose the French Syrian Policy and back the Arab. Balfour demurred and thought a working agreement could be reached between French and Arab. I said we were now riding three horses, Arab, French and Jew. We could not win on all three, and if we persisted in our present policy of compromise, we should lose on all three and an outsider, either Turk or German, would win.

I then suggested that we should first of all in Paris decide the boundaries of Syria, Palestine, Mesopotamia and Arabia: it was useless waiting for further evidence, which was now complete. Having decided the boundaries we should then back the Jew in Palestine, the French in Syria, the Arab in Arabia and ourselves in Mesopotamia. If America's indecision was an excuse for delay, we should decide without them; a good reason for doing so was the fact that they had not been at war with Turkey and therefore had no say in her partition.

Balfour did not think the unity of Syria and Palestine was essential to an eventual settlement. He thought that the French, being naturally a very suspicious race, were accusing us of conducting propaganda against them in Syria and in placing every obstacle in their way. The Prime Minister's policy of refusing to accept a Mandate over Syria still held good, but was not widely enough known locally.

I said the French also complained of Arab propaganda and of the active assistance we constantly give to the Emir Feisal. I explained that without British gold, arms and ammunition, the Arab bubble must burst in a few weeks, and that by withdraw-





ing our material support from Feisal, the Arabs had no means wherewith to oppose the French in Syria. The French understood this very well and resented it. But Feisal's Army, being part of Allenby's Force, was outside French criticism, and we are within our rights to finance and maintain it, though personally I should like to see it disbanded and a large portion of the present subsidy withdrawn.

Balfour expressed great astonishment at my views. He had never realized that Feisal was conducting anti-French propaganda, and was alarmed that we should continue the subsidy, which was but aiding and abetting it. He promised to look into the matter at once.

Finally Balfour told me I had a very difficult task to perform in establishing Zionism in Palestine and in bringing about a workable state of affairs in Syria. But I had his complete confidence and I should get the support of H.M.G. From what he had heard of me, he thought I should succeed, which was gracious of him.

I left Paris on July 31, 1919

But before leaving Paris I must refer to T. E. Lawrence whom I got to know intimately during the Peace Conference. It has been suggested that there are many inconsistencies in my remarks about Lawrence. I think this is true, but the notes were always made at the time of the incident they describe and are spread over many years. Every time I met Lawrence I found myself changing my opinion about him, and even now, though I probably knew him as well as anybody else, I am quite unable to be consistent about this very complex and interesting man. To know him well was to love him. To know the worst in a man whom one respects and likes, increases affection. It is when one suspects the worst that contempt creeps in. He was a shy show-off with little to show, a mass of contradictions and an artist in trying to hide himself in a blaze of limelight. He practised secrecy lit up by publicity; he neither denied nor confirmed many complimentary myths about himself. There is no truth in the legend that Churchill offered Lawrence the High Commissionership of Egypt, though Lawrence hated denying it. Nor is there any truth that Lloyd George thought of pushing





Hankey out of the Secretaryship of the Cabinet and imposing Lawrence on the nation.

Lawrence was a superb actor but not a humbug. Without this element of pretence he could never have succeeded in Arabia during the First World War; his Arabs were a poor lot, splendid looters and with miserable courage. Their exploits were exaggerated, accompanied by contempt for the Turk who will always be a ten-to-one better man than the Bedouin. It is safe to say that Lawrence's Desert Campaign had not the slightest effect on the main theatre west of Jordan.

Lawrence insisted on a United Arab Kingdom stretching from the Taurus to Aden and from Iraq to Aqaba, with capital in Damascus and, of course, with kingship vested in the Huseini strain. His failure was a bitter disappointment; he often harped on our ill-faith to the Arabs, 'our' being mainly his own promises; but he did not do too badly considering how little the Arabs had done and that at great profit to themselves.

I agree with John Connell (The Office, p. 32) that it would have been better for our country, and probably for the world, if Doughty, Lawrence and Gertrude Bell had not been such admirable and such persuasive writers.

One final and typical episode in Paris. An adoring lady in conversation with Lawrence, mainly about herself, remarked 'I fear my conversation does not interest you much'. Lawrence replied 'It does not interest me at all'.

The following references to Lawrence occur in my diary.

The initial entry refers to my first meeting with the little man, and other entries from my diary follow so that all entries referring to him follow each other.

10.XII.1917. Rafa, Palestine

As I was working in my tent last night—about 10 p.m.—in walked an Arab boy dressed in spotless white, white headdress with golden circlet; for the moment I thought the boy was somebody's pleasure-boy but it soon dawned on me that he must be Lawrence whom I knew to be in camp. I just stared in silence at the very beautiful apparition which I suppose was what was intended. He then said in a soft voice 'I am Lawrence, Dalmeny sent me over to see you'. I said 'Boy or girl?' He smiled and





blushed, saying 'Boy'. I stopped work and he sat down on my bed. I questioned him about his Arabian side-show (he did not like 'side-show', though I eventually persuaded him that it was). What Lawrence is doing in Arabia is not having the slightest influence on Allenby's main campaign. Lawrence regarded Allenby's right flank as his particular province and resented any intrusion. I remember well at a conference when it was suggested that a British Force should be landed at Aqaba to turn the Turkish Gaza-Beersheba line; time and again this proposal was put up but Lawrence opposed it fiercely as it poached on his particular sphere and would have sabotaged the myth that the Arabs were being liberated by Arabs. But so great was Lawrence's influence with Allenby, Bols and Guy Dawnay, that he got his way, despite the combined opinion of us junior members of the General Staff. Lawrence praised his Arabs, boasting that with 7,000 well armed men he would take on and defeat ten times their number in European troops, emphasizing only in the desert. If that were so, I suggested he might try out his claim against some 20,000 Turkish troops in Ma'an, Medina, etc. I told Lawrence that the Arabs were just looters and murderers, they would not stand casualties and were well understood by the Turks who refused to enlist them in combatant units. I was not much impressed by Lawrence's bombastic exaggerations. We sat talking until after midnight. I liked the little man, he had great charm and a pleasant voice, also an impish sense of humour. He is clearly trying to impress me with the importance of his desert manoeuvres and of himself. He is ambitious and makes preposterous claims whilst acting like a demure little schoolgirl. I gathered from his remarks that he has a poor opinion of regular officers but his contacts with regular officers have been negligible; what he was anxious to point out to me was that he, Lawrence, was vastly superior in desert tip-and-run raids to any regular officer. Perhaps. But what about Dawnay and Newcombe? He never mentioned any by name; he wished me to believe that his was the credit for every success. He loathes the French, fearing they may interfere with his dream of an Arab Empire in Arabia, Mesopotamia, Syria and Palestine. I reminded him of Zionism and Palestine. He promised that Palestine would be a self-





governing province under Arab sovereignty. Really. I cannot see the Jews being overlorded by Arabs.

I shall look forward to seeing Lawrence again for, in spite of his ambition, he has very great charm and a delightful quiet way of talking. But if he starts any of this impresario nonsense, pretending he is nobody at one moment and expecting hero-worship the next moment, I shall prick his bubble with a pop. One cannot act modesty and advertisement at one and the same time.

9.II.1919. *Peace Conference, Paris*

Toby Macindoe and I attended a meeting of the Peace Delegates. Lawrence was resplendent in white robes and gold encircled headdress; he interpreted for Feisal who speaks no English. I cannot understand Arabic but Toby can. The rumour went round that Lawrence deliberately distorted what Feisal said but Toby says it was a fairly accurate interpretation.

Why is Lawrence a colonel? Nobody knows. He wears the badges of rank of a full colonel. Why? I must ask him. Possibly one of his poses.*

8.IV.1919. *Peace Conference, Paris*

I have been seeing a good deal of little Lawrence and have got to know him well. He is a complex character, his moral barometer jumping about from extreme depression to hilarious practical jokes.

We lunched together and later took a walk in the Bois. The poor little man is intensely depressed. He is writing a book on his Arabian exploits and admitted to me that though it purports to be the truth, a great deal of it is fancy, what might have happened, what should have happened and dull little incidents embroidered into hair-breadth escapes. He confesses that he has overdone it and is now terrified lest he is found out and deflated. He told me that ever since childhood he had wanted to be a hero, that he was always fighting between rushing into limelight and hiding in utter darkness but the limelight had always won. And now he is genuinely terrified at his brazen imagination—all to

* He had been made a temporary Colonel by Allenby to enable him to travel home in comfort from Egypt.





what purpose? He hates himself and is having a great struggle with his conscience. His self-deception filled him with bitterness. Shall he run away and hide, confess his sins and become completely discredited—or carry the myth on into the limelight in the hopes of not being exposed. Poor little man, he's in a ghastly mess and I wish I could help him. But beyond keeping all this to myself, I do not see that I can do much about it. I have strongly advised him to write a straightforward account of his Arabian exploits—I cannot call it a campaign—omitting all glorification and embroidery. He says it has all gone too far and that others are pushing him into the limelight. He also excuses himself by saying that none of his exaggerations can be checked or verified—that seems rather ingenuous. He blames Hogarth, Lowell Thomas, Storrs and many others and complains that people in high places are already beginning to regard him as a little War Hero and that any going back now would be misunderstood. But in reality he only has himself to blame for he has encouraged publicity and runs the risk of discovery as he has so many versions of every little episode.

He rather clings to me as he says I am the only person who understands him. I cannot help liking the little man and shall certainly not give him away but he must write a truthful book and not a fairy tale. We dined at the Majestic and I persuaded him to drink a little champagne to cheer him up. He usually refuses all alcohol.

17.VII.1919. *Peace Conference, Paris*

Little Lawrence's room is directly above mine; when he wishes to communicate with me he bumps the floor and when I wish to communicate with him I bump the ceiling. This evening he bumped the floor and let down on a string the manuscript of the book he is writing.

20.VII.1919. *Peace Conference, Paris*

Last night, as I was working in pyjamas, T.E.L. sent me a string message reading 'My mind is afire with all kinds of forebodings; may I come in?' I answered 'Come along'. I have never seen him in such a state, intensely worried. But before he started on himself I told him I had been considering what he





said about me in his book and begged him to expunge it as the first part was not true and put me in a false light. Then he started. He surprised me by saying that little of his book was strict truth, though most of it was based on fact; he had intended giving me a copy of his book; I begged him not to as I loathe fakes; he then told me that was precisely his trouble; he also hated fakes but had been involved in a huge lie—'imprisoned in a lie' was his expression—and that his friends and admirers intended to keep him there. He was now fighting between limelight and utter darkness. It was slowly corroding his soul. And there were other troubles which might be laid bare. His father and mother were never married, which filled him with shame. I told him that in these enlightened times such things mattered little and that he was in good company for Jesus was born out of wedlock. He went on to describe the indecency and degradation he suffered at the hands of the homosexual Turks.

He did not intend to publish the true account of this incident as it was too degrading, 'had penetrated his innermost nature' and he lived in constant fear that the true facts would be known. He had been seized, stripped and bound; then sodomized by the Governor of Deraa, followed by similar treatment by the Governor's servants. After this revolting behaviour he had been flogged.

He took the blame for the legend which had sprung up about him, whilst admitting encouragement and exaggerations by his admirers. In his own words (1918) 'He craved to be famous and had a horror of being known to like being known . . . I wondered if all established reputations were founded like mine, on fraud'. What was he to do? Go ahead and risk being exposed or hide himself in the wilderness of darkness and obscurity? I suggested that he should start with a clean slate, write a straightforward and true account of his Arab exploits, ignoring his friends' embroideries. He promised to think it over, but I fear he has gone too far, poor little man. His nature shrinks from obscurity unless it would bring mystery and applause.

We continued until midnight when he asked if he might have a bath as his room had no bathroom. So he stripped. I was shocked to see red weals on his ribs, standing out like tattoo marks. 'Good God' I said 'whatever are those?' He said 'A camel





accident at Azraq; dragged across barbed wire'. Except for the weals already mentioned there was no sign of the many bullet and other wounds he claims to have suffered. A bullet leaves an indelible mark however slight.*

He had his bath and was still so depressed that I asked him if he would care to sleep in my spare bed. He jumped at it. So I tucked him up and gave him two allonal tabloids which sent him to sleep.

I'm terribly sorry for the little man. He has such charm and has got himself into a deplorable mess. The two tragedies which weigh most shamefully on his sensitive soul are his illegitimate origin and the utter degradation at the hands of a homosexual monster.

24.XII.1921. *London*

Today I lunched with Winston. There were also present Freddie Guest, Shuckburgh and Lawrence. The conversation throughout turned on Mesopotamia and Palestine, Winston bombarding Lawrence with questions about the two countries. Lawrence has just returned from a six month tour in Arabia and Palestine, and is full of new ideas in furtherance of his Shereefian policy which is costing this country so many missions a year.

I was much struck by the attitude of Winston towards Lawrence, which almost amounted to hero-worship. Winston asked him question after question in such a way as to make clear what would be the most acceptable reply. Lawrence, who is as quick as a monkey in conversation, took full advantage of this and took care not to say anything which would be unpleasant hearing, interlarding his remarks with a suitable amount of flattery. Winston revelled in it, but to Shuckburgh and me it was nothing but nauseating. Lawrence had scarce a good word for anyone. He freely criticized Samuel, Cox, Allenby and Congreve, and spoke eulogistically of Feisal and Abdullah. This latter worthless Arab has proved his worthlessness in Transjordan, but Lawrence still sees advantage to us in keeping him

* When he was stripped for examination by Army Doctors on enlistment in August, 1922, there is no mention of bullet wounds but only of the weal which is what I saw in Paris.





on there, drawing a huge salary for doing nothing. I interrupted the conversation by saying I thought Abdullah had better be removed and that we must administer Transjordan directly, as part of Palestine. Winston and Lawrence would not think of it. Winston said he thought Abdullah should be invited to London, and would promise him a £2,000 trip. More money being thrown away to the Arabs at the expense of the British taxpayer. It is clear that Lawrence, with his mad self-seeking pan-Arab policy, pays no account to what the policy is costing the country, and Winston is quite prepared to spend hundreds of thousands on bolstering up the effete House of Hussein, and in paying subsidies to Hussein's enemies to keep quiet. (Ibn Saud receives £60,000 a year as a bribe not to attack Hussein.) Heaven knows where this mad policy is not going to land us.

I was particularly disgusted when Winston asked Lawrence 'What about Egypt?' Lawrence replied, 'Quiet, and there never will be much trouble. It is only kept going by a few political hot-heads', adding that Allenby is doing his best, but does not understand the problems. 'I agree,' said Winston, and with this encouragement, Lawrence poured out a torrent of abuse against Allenby and all Egyptian Officials. He referred to Allenby as a man of no principles, and as a hopelessly weak administrator. This I thought most ungracious for Lawrence owes everything he has ever had to Allenby. He was created by Allenby, rewarded by Allenby and his reputation, such as it is, is of Allenby's creation. But apart from this, what Lawrence says about Allenby is not true. It was simply said to please Winston. Lawrence is a most remarkable man, with a most remarkable record, but as unscrupulous as he is dangerous. His meek schoolboy expression hides the cunning of a fox and the intriguing spirit of the East.

When Winston referred to Allenby as a 'dud' General, an expression to which Freddie added 'I agree', I was on the point of bursting with indignation. I remarked that at any rate Allenby had proved himself to be a soldier of the first rank, and that his marked ability for administration had presumably prompted His Majesty's Government to appoint him High Commissioner in Egypt, a position he had held for the last three years. Winston





did not like this outburst, and remarked that any soldier with the resources at Allenby's command might have done a great deal more in 1917 and 1918, and that Allenby had proved himself a weak vacillating administrator in Egypt, devoid of policy or sense. I refused to let the matter rest there, so added that such a verdict was entirely contrary to the judgment of either Army or public and official opinion in Egypt.

Winston's excellent lunch was, so far as I am concerned, entirely spoiled by the venom of the conversation, which was scandalous and ill-bred.

19.XI.1922. *Bagdad*

I had a long friendly talk with Feisal, discussing Lawrence, Hubert Young, the French and the Turks. Feisal had given up faith in Lawrence and saw him as an adventurer, an advertiser and a humbug. I thought this rather an ungracious criticism of the little man who had done so much for him. We all know Lawrence is a humbug, though as able as a monkey. The word 'imp' suits him best. His refusal of the C.B. at the hands of King George was an unpardonable piece of bad manners, the King standing confused with the decoration in his hands. It was desire for notoriety, the abrupt refusal bringing greater notoriety than the acceptance.

20.v.1935 *London*

Poor little Lawrence died yesterday morning after a week of fears and hopes for his recovery following on a commonplace motor accident. It is indeed a tragic irony that, after all the dangers he went through during the war, he should have been killed in the New Forest in a motor accident.

I first met Lawrence during the war when he was conducting his Arabian campaign. His charm fascinated at once and from that moment we were friends. I think we appreciated each other and we were certainly able to give each other much help in our work. Then, in 1919, in Paris during the Peace Conference, we were much together in work and in play. I got to know him better there and to understand him, but it was only later on, from 1921 to 1924, that we became most intimate, working together in the same room in the Colonial Office. We then





drifted apart, but met often. The last occasion when I saw him was only last year when he suddenly appeared at my house and we had a long talk about old times and the future. On that occasion I saw a side of his nature which had never before revealed itself. He got down on his knees and played with my children, making railways and blowing up trains just as he did in 1917 in Arabia.

Lawrence was a master of irregular warfare and one of the outstanding figures of the Great War. The silly, futile charge that self-advertisement was at the root of all his actions is of course not true. He loathed publicity, though his little acts of impish folly would sometimes lend colour to the myth that he revelled to conceal himself in a blaze of limelight. Lawrence had a brain which was always alert, inspiring and quick as lightning. His physical strength was on a par with his intellect.

He was a most remarkable little man, scrupulously high principled and loyal to a degree which was almost a religion. I always hate losing friends but in Lawrence I have lost more than a friend, I have lost an inspiration, an example which it will be impossible to replace. His public record has been unblemished, utterly unsentimental, clear and incisive, crammed with successes. Poor little man, I shall miss him a great deal. His personality had a peculiar charm of its own and he stood out unique among all men I know in that respect. We had much in common. His example was noble and my loss is great. If he had been spared he might have done great things, for he had that great soul, generous heart and magnetic charm which spells success. His basic character was integrity, loyalty and humility but one had to dig deep to remove the thick crust of pose, exaggeration, imagination and impishness which he imposed on many of his friends.

19.VI.1935. *London*

Today I was a guest at a luncheon given by Foyle's Literary Luncheon (a curious institution about which I know nothing) at the Grosvenor Hotel. There were over 350 persons present, all admirers of Lawrence and mainly authors, literary men and press-men. The object of the lunch was to pay tribute to T. E.





Lawrence. Lord Lloyd was in the chair but had to leave immediately after lunch, giving place to Herbert Samuel. I sat between Lady Storrs and Captain Liddell Hart, an author who has, to my mind, written the best book about T.E.L. I liked Liddell Hart and he spoke well about T.E.L. as a soldier and an author. Though of course, when Hart compared T.E.L. to Napoleon and the great soldiers of history, I am unable to go so far. Where Lawrence excelled was in inspiration, in setting an example, in knowing the Arabs, in leadership and personality. His real qualities as a soldier were never tested for his own men were a rabble and his enemy little better. But he excelled as a man of letters. His writings, and especially his letters, will go down to history as exquisite examples of English literature. His own writings are his best memorial. None who attempt to probe that complex character or write his history will ever succeed so well as T.E.L. did himself in his *Seven Pillars* and in his letters to his friends.

Ronald Storrs spoke of T.E.L. as a man and did it well. I was almost in tears at the memory of our friendship. Mrs Lawrence, his mother, was there, a charming little woman to whom I was introduced, a pathetic little figure with all the pluck and character of her son and some of his looks. Poor little woman, what she has lost, but how proud she must feel. I was much attracted to her. She sat through lunch with a very charming smile on her face, looking very young and terribly proud.

8.XII.1937. *Bristol*

I have today finished reading *T. E. Lawrence by his friends*. I was asked to participate in the book but refused, knowing how much T.E. would have hated the publicity and piecemeal post-mortem. I have much too much love and respect for him to do anything which he might not have liked. I was devoted to him.

But though I thoroughly disapprove of the motive of the book, I admit it serves its purpose, giving an insight into the man's character if read by anyone who knew him. To anyone who did not know him the book must leave a feeling of bewilderment.

I think I knew 'Laurens' (as I always called and thought of him) better than any man and even better than his family. I





saw him many times in Palestine in 1917, again in Paris during the Peace Conference when we became intimate, we worked in the same room in the Colonial Office in 1921 and 1922, often lunching together, and when he was at Uxbridge and later testing speed-boats he would often come to my house and play with the children.

He never posed to me nor I to him. I doubt if he ever hid anything from me. If there was the slightest reserve or pose in either of us, the culprit would say 'strip' and the unvarnished truth would emerge. But to others he was a different person, posing and acting, often exaggerating and even inventing. He could not help it, partly his innate desire for notoriety and partly his impish nature which never missed an opportunity of a leg-pull, no matter how important his companion; in fact, the more important the person the bigger was the 'pull'. But to me he spoke the naked truth, his whole soul uncovered; and in response I opened out my heart to him.

His most remarkable characteristic was the fire in his blue eyes, dormant if happy or dreaming, but sparkling with fire if roused. I have seen him angry, thwarted and ridiculed. Then he really was a superman, a sight for the Gods. But he never lost that slow deliberate intonation, the exact and perfect elocution, the chosen words uttered with the ghost of a smile, disarming and delightful. People may have despised Lawrence for his desire for publicity, but they never lost respect.

At the Peace Conference in Paris he would let me read the manuscript of *Seven Pillars*. He admitted to me that it was not a true story, though based on fact. He told me I was to get a copy, but I begged him not to give me a fake, so I never received a copy. The book was not honest, it was also written in a style which I found tiresome, difficult to read and strained; and it contained a quite untrue account of me, almost amounting to libel. The book originated (teste Lawrence) in a desire to see if he could write and also to try his hand at printing. He was profoundly dissatisfied with the book, for, as he often related, he was pleased with the style and printing, but disgusted at the dishonesty. I know some of it is invention, a lot of it exaggeration. But the general story is true and indeed omits much to T.E.L.'s credit. The Deraa incident is false. T.E.L. would have





recalled that book if possible; therefore how I loathed the unlimited edition published immediately after his death.

To imply any sort of sex-perversion or uncleanness to Laurens grossly inaccurate and libellous. He admired virility, energy; he often told me how he admired the figure of a young boy or girl, the most wonderful example of beauty. But his mind was pure as gold. Indelicacy, indecency, any form of coarseness or vulgarity repelled him physically.* He frequently discussed marriage and women with me. He was not a woman hater, but loathed the false type, the decorated hussy, the noisy strumpet, the flattering society woman. His objection to matrimony was physical contact. He could not bear even being touched on the sleeve and shaking hands was an effort.

He had perfect manners if consideration for others counts and he expected good manners from others. His love of everything beautiful was most noticeable. I once walked with him in the New Forest and his knowledge of birds astonished me. He knew most of the notes and, oddly enough, preferred the rasping churr of the nightjar to the full throated warble of the nightingale. In his later years he educated himself to music. He often told me that music would in the end make a normal man of him. It certainly did a lot to soften that hard side of his nature and alleviated the terrible torture of soul and mind brought on by the war and the disappointments after the war.

The war shattered his sensitive nature. He was shaken off his balance by the stresses, hardships and responsibilities of his campaign. These all went to accentuate and develop any little eccentricities of his youth.

Whenever he came to see me in London he would play trains with my children. Anne may remember him, the others were too young. With a bag of flour he would blow up and derail a Turkish train and make a foul mess of the drawing-room. No trouble was too much for him. On one occasion when the children were out he waited until they returned and spent his time arranging the trains, placing loot in the wagons, so that he

* This may appear to be in contradiction to the publication of 'The Mint'. T. E. L. showed me the MSS. I told him it was a foul book, coarse and vulgar. He said it was meant to be to show his own degradation. Trenchard forbade its publication and it was only published by his family after his death. I doubt if T. E. L. would ever have consented.



could demonstrate how he would loot a train. Whenever he spent a night at my house he would keep me up till 2 a.m. but was always first up and about, often ragging the children and making a terrible noise with ticklings and struggles.

He was a past master of tomfoolery and impishness, always ready for mischief, sometimes of a very naughty and high order. But he was never unkind. I remember in Paris in 1919 when the Peace Delegation was working in the Astoria, T.E.L. and I, from the top of the centre well, spied Lord Hardinge, Balfour, Lloyd George, many distinguished French and American officers, talking most seriously at the bottom. T.E.L. hurried to a nearby lavatory and produced a huge roll of toilet paper which he let unfurl down the well till it was festooned in graceful paper cascades all over the balconies and with a neat little heap at the bottom. It broke up the little conference at the bottom whilst T.E.L. and I fled to our rooms and hid our noses in work. I heard Hardinge say that evening 'There is nothing funny about toilet paper'. I think there is but cannot define it. Perhaps it only becomes funny when in contact with long faces and serious diplomacy.

Poor little man. I cherish his memory. His name will live in history. I miss him more than I can say but feel that his fine example is a beautiful memory.

10.1.1938. *Devon*

I have been thinking a great deal about T.E.L. these last few days. His personality echoes in my dreams almost every night. I miss him more than ever and am extremely sorry that his admirers and his family should have showered so much publicity on him since his death.

T.E.L.'s great asset was his originality; he neither cared for nor knew any aspect of convention in clothes or manners and would always bring some new idea into any matter under discussion; he had a great and unfailing sense of humour; intensely kind and understanding. He has often been pictured as a complete humbug and poseur; there is no doubt that when in Arabia he was most anxious for publicity; he encouraged publicity whilst pretending to shun it; later he became a prisoner of his own legend; in many ways he was a vain little man, but this was





balanced by immense pride and dignity. Having helped to leave his legend he found himself imprisoned in it by his numerous friends. His enforced hermitage after 1923 arose from fear of discovery, frustration and a sense of his own failure; celebrity was thrust on him, frightened him and gave him an importance which he felt he had not deserved. His Seven Pillars do lie based on fact. He was not a 'great soldier' and not even a great guerrilla leader. But he did introduce a form of irregular guerrilla warfare which had little more than a nuisance value to the Turk. It is a prototype of what may become a commonplace in the future wars. I see no reason why every army in the future should not have an element of highly trained regular guerrillas as part of their normal organization.

When we worked together in the Colonial Office we worked out a scheme for a Directorship of Intelligence embracing both political and military aspects and coalescing under one head all the little organizations of the Foreign Office, War Office, Admiralty, Air Ministry, Scotland Yard and M.I.5. We put the scheme up to Churchill, Amery and Macdonogh and they concurred. It involved a training college in London and a training college for agents in the country. It was complete and we were applying for Treasury sanction when T.E.L. died. I felt I could not go on with it as it was very much his work.

20.xi.1955. *London*

Richard Aldington has just published a book exploding the Lawrence Myth. It is a venomous book but true. Lawrence was the victim of his own desire for publicity but I blame the so-called Lawrence Bureau for pushing him into such an impossible position—men like Lowell Thomas, Storrs, and his own family. There are also men like Lloyd George, Winston Churchill, Allenby and Wavell who helped erect the myth and made the most extravagant claims for Lawrence's military genius. Lawrence had great charm, great ability and was in many ways a genius; he used all these virtues for deception. Not one single one of the men mentioned above had any first-hand knowledge of Lawrence's Arabian exploits, having gained their knowledge from Lawrence himself and from what he spread about, knowing it to be either false or exaggerated. Comparing him with





Napoleon and Hannibal is just nonsense for Lawrence never commanded anything but a looting rabble of murderous Arab levies, he took part in no major military operation and his desert exploits had not the slightest bearing on Allenby's campaign. In his own words, his was a 'side-show of a side-show'.

I probably knew Lawrence better than any living man. We were attracted to each other when we first met in Sinai in 1917, we were much together in Paris in 1919, he laid bare his body and soul to me when he broke down in my room in Paris, we worked in the same room in the Colonial Office for almost two years and he often visited my house in London, playing with my children not only when he was at Uxbridge but later on after 1928. There were no secrets between us and I believe I was the only one of his friends to whom he confided that he was a complete fraud. 'Some day I shall be found out' he said on more than one occasion. Poor little man.

Aldington explodes the myth that Lawrence was offered the High Commissionership of Egypt in succession to Allenby who threatened resignation. This must refer to an occasion in 1922 when, after a conference in Churchill's room at the Colonial Office, the question of Allenby's resignation was discussed. Churchill put his hand on Lawrence's shoulder saying 'I think we shall have to send you out to Egypt'. It was not intended seriously. We all smiled and thought it a harmless little joke. But I have little doubt that Lawrence let it be known to many friends that it was a serious offer.

Lawrence's love of speed and power was closely linked with his fascination for great big he-men such as Allenby, Dalmeny, Churchill and many others. He had no use for women, his sexual inclination being big strong men. He had little use for small men such as he was himself. I remember an occasion in the Majestic Hotel in Paris when he ran off with my knobkerry; I chased him, caught him and holding him tight gave him a spanking on the bottom. He made no attempt to resist and told me later that he could easily understand a woman submitting to rape once a strong man hugged her.

But, all the same, he had great charm and I was devoted to him. His obsession for publicity ruined his life; he got what he





wanted, knew it was all false and got frightened. He found out that his life was an enacted lie.

And now *The Mint* has been published. It is laboriously written, tiresome to read and the flatness of its impact is scarcely credible. It is a gross libel on the R.A.F. and the young men who were Lawrence's companions. It never should have been published.

And so ends my reminiscences of Lawrence.

I arrived in Egypt on September 1, 1919, to take up my new duties, and write:

I am Allenby's Political Officer for all occupied enemy territory including Syria, Palestine and Transjordan. I am responsible that the Foreign Office is kept informed of what is going on, I advise Allenby on all political matters and am responsible to the Foreign Office that their policy is carried out. This dual responsibility and dual loyalty, the one to Allenby the soldier and the other to the Foreign Office, is not going to be easy and must end in friction.

Emir Feisal is in Damascus, an un-crowned King of Lawrence's Arab Empire and straining to have a go at the French who had a mission (with a few unauthorized troops) in Beirut. Monsieur Laforcade was head of the French Mission. We have a military Governor in Jerusalem, his responsibilities extending to Transjordan east to an undefined frontier with Iraq and south to an undefined frontier with the rising power of Ib'n Saud.

My Headquarters are in Cairo.





CHAPTER III

Chief Political Officer

7.IX.1919. *Damascus*

I have come up here to try to arrange better relations between the French and the Emir Feisal, and also to try to induce the latter to take no precipitate action which would most certainly ruin his cause and possibly embroil the whole of the Near East. At present Feisal is actively planning to fight the French and any foolish little incident would rouse the Arab volcano into political and fanatical activity. But it is difficult ground on which to work, as the Arabs completely mistrust the French, seeing all their bad qualities and their selfish methods of colonial corruption and administration, without crediting them with any good qualities. I admit these latter are sometimes hard for even an Englishman to recognize.

The French, on the other hand, mistrust the Arab, treat him and his ideals with contempt, and consider we are responsible for all Arab hostilities towards them. They are moreover determined to impose themselves on Syria, whilst Feisal is equally determined that France shall not rule in Syria. It is therefore difficult at present to see how any means can be found to bring about a suitable settlement or even create a peaceful *modus vivendi* pending the signing of Peace with Turkey. Meanwhile both parties are naturally trying to influence the decisions of the Peace Conference, the French by trying to show the world how popular they are in Syria, and the Arabs by showing the world that French Rule will not be tolerated for a moment. So I cannot expect much success in my first efforts to reconcile two





such opposite views held by two such unreasonable parties.

After a formal visit to Feisal and settling a few small matters with Clayton, I strolled out this morning into the gardens east of the town and found lots of nice birds, including Blackbirds, Greater-spotted Woodpeckers, Syrian Jays, Great Tits and Hooded Crows. It was very peaceful and cool, plenty of water about and no people, so I thoroughly enjoyed myself thinking out the problems which I have come up here to solve.

Whilst I was Chief Political Officer in Palestine I usually toured the country half of the month and was back in my Cairo office for the other half of the month. I had at my disposal, when in Palestine, two Rolls-Royce cars, one fitted up with a bed; this enabled me to sleep by the road-side or in the desert, for in those days hotels were few and far between.

10.IX.1919. *Damascus*

I have spent the last few days in holding informal conversations with Feisal and M. Laforcade, the French representative. Both have been very tiresome and difficult, neither listening to reason nor making any attempt to help in solving the problem.

Today I had a long official conference with Feisal and Laforcade, the results of which I have wired home to the Foreign Office in the following terms, which I quote in full, as the telegram is typical of the class of work before me.

SECRET

From: MEINERTZHAGEN to FOREIGN OFFICE

DATE 11.9.19

On September 9th at Damascus, at a meeting between Laforcade, Feisal and myself, an effort was made to improve relations between French and Arabs by frank exchange of views.

The conciliatory attitude of Laforcade and the established personal friendship with Feisal has removed the immediate danger of Arab aggressive action.

The four points upon which I based the discussion were (1) British refusal of the Syrian mandate, (2) Established Zionism in Palestine, (3) The Anglo-French 1918 Agreement and (4) the nature of the present Administration of Occupied territory





whereby any breach of the peace would bring Feisal into direct conflict with Allies to the ruin of his cause.

Feisal told Laforcade that the unity of Syria was the vital issue defining the area as from Gaza to Taurus mountains.

He accepted Zionism.

Laforcade asked if unity of Syria embracing French mandate would be acceptable to Feisal, asking at the same time what were objections to French mandate.

Feisal replied that the French mandate entailed slavery, quoting local instances of French oppression, and that definite reply to question of French mandate would be given if H.M. Government and French Government would give assurance that agreement of 1918 is basic principle of Syrian solution.

The interpretation of Feisal of this document is that it implies compliance with Syrian wishes regarding unity of Syria and choice of mandatory power.

It has been agreed by Feisal to stop all propaganda and give no further trouble in the event of favourable reply from both Governments.

From: MEINERTZHAGEN to FOREIGN OFFICE

DATE 12.9.19

Reference my telegram of 11.9.19 and in continuation thereof part two is as follows:

Feisal freely discussed with me personally situation reaffirming his policy of a united Syria to the exclusion of France, and everything French. On these points he and his people would fight. His loyalty to us is unquestionable, and his faith in H.M. Government is absolute, but he fears fate of Syria may be decided on lines of Picot-Sykes agreement, and without consulting the wishes of the people, in which case his loyalty and faith would give place to realization of National ideas. My considered opinion is that movement, which is now National, may drift into religious fanaticism and massacres, though our political influence at present is sufficiently strong to insist on patience and moderation. Feisal has regained the support of his people. Our political influence over Feisal and Arabs will disappear at first sign of Peace Conference handing over Syria to France. Recent Arab military preparation need not be taken too seriously.





The ultimate aim of Feisal is, an Arab federation embracing Mesopotamia, and a Jewish Palestine, all under British mandate. The British refusal of Syrian mandate he is inclined to ignore, and in this respect he intends to force hands of H.M. Government.

The situation generally becomes increasingly serious, though is not yet acute.

An aggravating factor is the French and Arab propaganda, which neither party agree to limit. French administration is regarded by both Feisal and Syrian leaders as oppressive and corrupt, which opinion has unfortunately been confirmed at their very doors. Attitude of French locally is, that a French Syrian Mandate is essential to maintenance of entente. Their Syrian policy is based on Picot-Sykes agreement. They foster a contempt for Arabs' indulgence in active propaganda against Zionism and Arab movement. British refuse both sides general desire for immediate replacement of French for British troops in Syria, conviction that British created present situation and are carrying on anti-French propaganda. On last three points I endeavoured to convince Laforcade, but suspicions too deep-rooted. On the other hand he was unable to produce any evidence in support of his suspicions, and I am convinced that no such exists.

Finally I strongly urge H.M. Government to give clear assurance to Feisal, that no Syrian settlement will be made contrary to wishes of people, and that they still adhere to 1918 agreement. A similar assurance is being asked for by Laforcade from his government.

11.IX.1919. *Cairo*

A few days ago Congreve (Commanding the troops in Egypt) was advised by his staff to refuse Weizmann's entry into Palestine on political grounds. I thought this monstrous. Allenby was away in the Sudan. I remonstrated with Congreve who argued that he could not go against the advice of his staff. I reminded him that I was his political adviser, but he was adamant in refusing Weizmann's entry. So I sent a clear line cable to the Foreign Office receiving an answer the same day instructing Congreve not to interfere with Weizmann's





movements. Such is the degree of hebraphobia at G.H.Q. in Cairo.

Colonel J. H. Patterson commanded the Zion Mule Corps in the Dardanelles and later on a Jewish Battalion in Palestine in 1919. His Brigadier was a peppery little man who detested Jews. The battalion was inspected and the Brigadier, finding a man with dirty buttons, referred to him as a 'dirty little Jew'. Patterson at once ordered the Battalion to fix bayonets, formed square round the Brigadier and refused to let him out until he apologized, which he did; and reported Patterson. Allenby asked me to investigate the case and on my report returned the Brigadier to India and disbanded the Battalion.

Patterson started life as a Railway Engineer in South Africa and later on, about 1900, was employed as an engineer on the Uganda Railway. It was then that he killed the famous man-eating lion Tsavo, about which he wrote a book.

From: MEINERTZHAGEN to FOREIGN OFFICE
DATE 22.9.1919

An unauthorized Arab Committee of National Defence issued proclamations with view to partial compulsory mobilization, immediately following Feisal's departure for Paris, and the unofficial announcement in press of Syrian settlement. Consequently Yasin Pasha was sent for by C-in-C whilst Chief Administrator has been ordered to break up the Committee of National Defence and cancel proclamation. M. de Laforcade has taken exaggerated view of affair and has demanded internment of Yasin and removal of Ali Riza. I have replied pointing out steps we have taken as outlined above, but that his request cannot be granted even though we recognize faults of two Arab Officers in question. That it is necessary to keep some responsible heads in administration of O.E.T.A. * (East) and that their removal during absence of Feisal would be inadvisable. We would however consider any likely names Laforcade might suggest.

The incident is important as being indicative of Arab determination to oppose French, but has however passed quietly. Both Yasin and Nuri Pasha have confided to me that if recent

* O.E.T.A. stands for Occupied Enemy Territory Administration.





reported Paris settlement of Syria be true they will not tolerate French control, nor will they stand by and witness oppression of Arabs in French coastal administration. They will not join with Mustapha Kemal as he will attempt to occupy Aleppo on our withdrawal, which will entail collision with Arabs. As long as British troops remain, it is my opinion we need anticipate no trouble. That extreme Arab party with army at their back will force conflict with France either during or immediately following our withdrawal and that Feisal will be forced to conform or amend his position.

In order to avoid accusation by French of fomenting Arabs and handing over country in state of revolt, I suggest you make situation quite clear to French, and warn them of immediate trouble following our evacuation.

My inability to either refute or confirm the unofficial report of Syrian agreement published in Paris on 17th inst. is, I again wish to point out, the immediate cause of present restlessness, and is giving rise to increasing mistrust of British.

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS,
EGYPTIAN EXPEDITIONARY FORCE,
CAIRO.

26.9.1919

MY LORD,

I have the honour to submit some observations on the state of Zionism as I find it at present in Palestine.

As the value of any opinion on controversial matter is enhanced by a knowledge of the personal leanings of the informant, I wish to make my own position *vis-à-vis* Zionism perfectly clear.

My inclination towards Jews in general is governed by an anti-semitic instinct which is invariably modified by personal contact. My views on Zionism are those of an ardent Zionist. The reasons which induced in me a fascination for Zionism are many and complex, but in the main were governed by the unsatisfactory state of the Jews of the world, the great sentimental attraction of re-establishing a race after banishment of 2,000 years, which is not without its scientific interest, and the conviction that Jewish brains and money could, when backed by





such a potent idea as Zionism, give to Palestine that impetus in industrial development which it so sorely needs after lying fallow since the beginning of the world.

Neither could my mind, educated in military thought for the last twenty years, totally ignore the great strategic value to the British Empire of a strong, healthy and contented Palestine under British guidance, and the resultant gratitude of the bulk of Jewry throughout the world.

My first introduction to Zionism was in 1917 when I met the Aaronshon family and visited the Zionist colonies of South Palestine. My close relation with Zionism since that date and an established friendship with many of the Zionist leaders in Paris and London have only increased my respect and admiration for Zionism and all that it means.

I do not therefore approach Zionism in Palestine with an open mind, but as one strongly prejudiced in its favour.

It has been well known in Paris and London for some months past that there is strong local opposition to Zionism in Syria and Palestine, which is frequently being voiced by nearly all communities and classes. Neither is such opposition entirely confined to non-official elements. The reasons underlying such opposition are varied and spring from many sources, but they are mainly traceable to a deliberate misunderstanding of the Jew and everything Jewish—this in its turn is based on contact with the local Jew, the least representative of Jewry or Zionism. Local contact with real Jewish culture and the better class of Zionist is not yet established in Palestine and cannot well materialize until Zionism commences its growth under a mandate.

All non-Zionist feeling in Palestine also views with alarm the question of immigration, which is regarded as the unlimited dumping of undesirable Jews from Eastern Europe.

The acknowledged superiority of Jewish brains and money forces land-owners and business men to realize their impotence to withstand eventual eviction, and they look on Zionism as synonymous with complete Jewish control and possession of land and industrial development in Palestine. The Jew is regarded as a parasite among Nations, indigestible to his host, and therefore scarcely able to assimilate himself to Nationhood.

The Moslem element in Palestine is also inclined to direct its





antagonism to Zionism along fanatical channels—cries out against the minority ruling the majority, and strongly resents a policy being imposed on Palestine against the wishes of the majority.

It is not therefore difficult to understand that in Palestine every man's hand is against Zionism. This state of affairs is aggravated by the activities of French and Arab propaganda in Palestine, by the utterances and publication of the Moslem-Christian Society whose original economic role has given place to political propaganda, by a local press which never fails to discredit Zionism and republish in badly translated form many immoderate articles from an over-zealous Zionist Press and by a host of smaller organizations and societies whose activities are encouraged by delay in the Peace settlement and which in some instances are contemplating a campaign of threat and terror against the Zionist leaders.

To reconcile this mass of opposition to the policy of H.M.G. has been no easy task for our administration and the work of our officials has been rendered doubly difficult as their personal views, no matter how anxious they are to conceal them, incline towards the exclusion of Zionism in Palestine. The determination of H.M.G. to establish Zionism in Palestine was also imperfectly realized until the arrival of your telegram No. 245 of August 4th, 1919.

The contents of this have now been made known to the British Administration and to the Arab Leaders, but is still withheld from the general public.

There have in the past been certain mutual accusations between the administration and the local Zionists, which have not helped either the Zionist cause or the smooth working of the administrative machine, but in nearly every case the trouble has been of a trivial nature. This unfortunate friction has been caused by Zionist criticism of our officials in Palestine, by the weak constitution of the Zionist Commission, by a steady and constant pressure on our Administration to inaugurate the Zionist programme before the mandate is established, by a lack of patience among the local Zionists, and by some isolated cases where our officials have shown partiality towards the Arab or made use of some unfortunate language directed against Zionism. But on the whole our administration has exhibited laudable tolerance





towards a subject they dislike and towards a community which is often unreasonable, and, by nature, exacting.

In order to relieve our administration of minor worries connected with Zionism and to smooth down and consolidate local Zionist activity, I have arranged that Dr Weizmann takes over charge of the Zionist Commission early next month.

It is hoped that Dr Weizmann's influence will also check the petty jealousies and recriminations among Palestinian Jewry. Such unfortunate conduct among an organization already saturated with trouble and opposition of all descriptions, is gradually discrediting Zionism and should it continue will serve to wreck the whole idea on the rocks of an exasperated Administration.

But in spite of all local opposition and all the many and real objections to establishing Zionism in Palestine, its eventual success is assured provided the growth is slow and methodical. In its incipient stages Zionism can only be artificial and unpopular, and though it is realized that eventual success must depend on its own merits, it is only by careful nursing that it will develop a healthy growth. The great difficulty which the Mandatory Power will experience is in giving Zionism just sufficient impetus and encouragement to prevent a stunted and disappointed growth, whilst not allowing it to outgrow itself and become strangled by its own impulsive effort.

The people of Palestine are not at present in a fit state to be told openly that the establishment of Zionism in Palestine is the policy to which H.M.G., America and France are committed. They certainly do not realize this fact. It has therefore been found advisable to withhold for the present your telegram No. 245 of August 4th, 1919, from general publication. So soon as Dr Weizmann arrives, I intend to draw up with him and the Chief Administrator a statement giving in the most moderate language what Zionism means, the gradual manner of its introduction, its freedom from religious or industrial intolerance, its eventual benefits to Palestine, and a denial that immigration spells the flooding of Palestine with the dregs of Eastern Europe.

This has never been explained to the people of Palestine and it is the opinion of many officers of the present Administration that, if moderately yet frankly put, such a declaration will go far





to allay local apprehension and induce the bulk of the more reasonable element to accept the policy of H.M.G. It will not be without effect on others of the more educated classes who have so far prejudged Zionism in their refusal to understand a distasteful subject.

Any such declaration will be submitted to you before publication.

The lack of such a declaration and my unwillingness to advise the publication of the bare facts as outlined in your telegram No. 245 of August 4th, 1919, in face of local advice, is responsible for a certain amount of dangerous intrigue. It is only by a gradual education in Zionism, by a closer acquaintanceship with Zionists of the more tolerant and moderate school and by a clear definition of H.M.G.'s determination to prevent unfairness towards other creeds and races, that Zionism can be imposed on Palestine without violent opposition.

At the same time I am losing no opportunity to impress on Zionists the necessity of patience and the certainty of eventual success. Whilst on the other hand I am insisting on official recognition of Zionism as the established policy of H.M.G. and on its being the main factor in considering the many Palestine questions always arising, subject always, until the Treaty with Turkey is signed, to the administration being conducted according to the Laws and Usages of War.

I have the honour to be, etc.

(sgd) R. Meinertzhagen,
Colonel.

I received a reply from Lord Curzon expressing himself as grateful for the frank exposition of my personal views.

4.XI.1919. Cairo

At Shtora, I found a French detachment of infantry guarding the railway, so I sent for the Officer in charge, asked him if he knew he was in Arab Territory and demanded to see his orders. He feigned complete ignorance, so I bundled him and his party back to his own border, much to the delight of the local inhabitants. These French seem to be doing their best to irritate the Arab.





4.XI.1919. *Cairo*

From Jerusalem we went by rail to Haifa, where I stopped with Waters-Taylor* on Mount Carmel. Madame is a most astounding woman, who says whatever enters her head, regardless of propriety or sanity. Her early morning attire is her husband's jodhpur breeches and his pyjama tops. She then rides down to Haifa beach where she bathes in her husband's shirt and shorts. Her day dress is some oriental kit, and in the evening she surpasses herself in some native drapery wrapt round her and enormous silver anklets on her legs. She has three pets, an infamous over-fed mongrel dog called 'Bug', a Madagascar parrot called 'Koko' which bites all and sundry who approach it, and a tailless black cat called 'Tootles', very wild, black and skinny. These three horrors live in perfect harmony together and are Madame's joy in life.

4.XI.1919. *Cairo*

From Beyrouth I motored south along the coast to Haifa via Tyre, Sidon and Acre. In parts the scenery was very fine, and and the road was excellent.

I had rather an amusing incident near Sidon. On coming round a headland, I saw a small object bobbing up and down in the surf about 400 yards distant. I stopped the car, and after watching the object for some time through my glasses, I came to the conclusion it could be nothing else than one of the rare Mediterranean seals. So I proceeded to stalk it along the rocks and on getting within about eighty yards of it I was more than ever convinced it was a seal as I could see its features and hair. I was on the point of lodging a bullet in its head when I saw a bundle of clothing on the water's edge and a car near-by with Waters-Taylor sitting in it smoking a huge cigar. I then realized that my seal was his eccentric wife, who was bathing without bathing dress, and, having heard my car coming, submerged herself for fear I should see her. The poor dear very nearly got a bullet in her head, but then she shouldn't do such foolish things. She must have seen me stalking her and heaven knows what she thought my purpose was.

* Waters-Taylor was then financial adviser to the Palestine administration.





5.XI.1919. *Haifa*

At Haifa I stopped with Northforce and the following day got through a lot of work. In the afternoon I took a long walk on Carmel's crest. It was a gorgeous evening, the brilliant red sun dipping into the turquoise sea being a marvel of beauty. If painted it would have looked grotesque. In nature it is one of those treats which makes one at peace with God and Man.

6.IV.1920. *Cairo*

C.-in-C.

PERSONAL

When I was in Haifa during March, an official of the Damascus Government arrived there and stated that he came from Feisal to receive a communication from Colonel Waters-Taylor, the latter having intimated to Feisal that he desired to make a communication of some importance. A few days later I was in Jerusalem and I informed Colonel Waters-Taylor of the arrival of the official at Haifa and the motive of his journey. Colonel Waters-Taylor denied all knowledge of the circumstances and I dismissed the matter from my mind thinking some mistake had been made.

When two members of the Zionist Commission visited me about March 29th they asked me if I was aware that Colonel Waters-Taylor was in regular touch with Feisal by means of agents which the latter constantly sent down from Damascus to Jerusalem and that Colonel Waters-Taylor was encouraging Feisal to hold out against the British Government for his principles.

I now see in a private letter from Colonel Easton to Colonel Norton of my section the following phrase: 'especially as Waters-Taylor continues to send cheering and encouraging messages to Feisal'.

I mention these reports as I have received them and pass them on without comment. You will doubtless realize the impropriety of such action on the part of Colonel Waters-Taylor, and, if the reports are true, the very dangerous results of such action, not to speak of the fact that Colonel Waters-Taylor's conduct would be hostile to the known wishes of His Majesty's Government.





What action do you wish taken in the matter, if any?

(sgd) R. Meinertzhagen,

Colonel,

Chief Political Officer

After writing the above letter I heard from several sources that both Ronald Storrs and Waters-Taylor were in close touch with various Arab Notables in Jerusalem, the most dangerous of whom was Haj Amin al Husseini, later Mufti of Jerusalem. I had an efficient but small Intelligence Service, part Jew and part Arab; I switched them on to the Mufti and soon discovered that Mrs Waters-Taylor, disguised as an Arab, frequently visited Haj Amin, and that Waters-Taylor had advocated anti-Jew riots in Jerusalem to impress on the Administration the unpopularity of the Zionist policy. Feisal was kept informed of this treacherous policy as also was Ronald Storrs.*

I took these reports to Allenby who was shocked but took my information as a reflection on his military administration and thought that if action were taken against Storrs and Waters-Taylor it might do more harm than good. I disagreed but had to conform.

Waters-Taylor again.

The following was related to me in 1927 by Colonel Rathbone who had just returned from Palestine. Waters-Taylor wished to revisit Palestine after relinquishing command of his regiment. He was refused permission to do so by the G.O.C. but after much persuasion he was granted a visa conditionally on his refraining from taking any part in politics or making political speeches. He visited Palestine and broke his word. He made the following excuse for a bitter attack on Zionism in Gaza. 'Yes', he said to the G.O.C. 'I admit it, but it was really a bit difficult. My friends all surrounded me and told me that Palestine would always be proud of Colonel Waters-Taylor and Jesus of Nazareth. You see, General, they put me first, and it was very difficult not to give them a small speech in thanks.'

** Haj Amin was appointed Mufti of Jerusalem in 1921 though it was known that he led the Arab mob against the Jewish Quarter of Jerusalem in April, 1920. He was later sentenced in absence by a military court to a long term of imprisonment but was later amnestied by Herbert Samuel and appointed Mufti of Jerusalem. He gave himself the title of 'Grand' and his appointment was never gazetted. We hear of this villain again and again.*





4.XI.1919. *Cairo*

Beyrouth is quite the dirtiest and most uninteresting town I have ever seen in these parts. It has nothing to commend it.

I lunched with Colonel Hawker, the Base Commandant, and dined with Colonel Nisbet of the Repatriation Branch. In the afternoon I had a long interview with George Picot, the French Haut Commissaire. He is the local fountain-head from which all French evil springs in the Near East. He is obsessed with a suspicion of the English and has from start to finish made it as difficult as he can for Allenby. He is continually making the basest accusations to his Government on the conduct of British Officials and conducts a violent propaganda against us in Syria and Palestine. The result is that France is mistrusted and we are respected, as I have steadfastly refused to allow propaganda in any shape or form. George Picot, in aiming at doing us harm, has done us incalculable good and has ruined his country's reputation in Syria. Therefore do I tender him my best thanks. At the interview which mainly concerned the Railway strike, he seemed very tired and uncompromising, but he eventually gave way and I hope the strike will be over tomorrow. The reason of the strike was that a particularly offensive French Official had insulted and imprisoned some Syrian employees. I have now secured the dismissal of the Official.

Picot is shortly being replaced by General Gouraud and is very bitter at his removal.

Weizmann arrived in Cairo some weeks ago. He, Watson and I had many meetings on Zionism and got through a great deal of work, reintroducing the agricultural loan scheme, reopening the land registries, deciding on the desirability of Dr Ruppin joining the Zionist Commission in Jerusalem, and discussing many preliminary measures which could be undertaken as preparatory work for establishing the Jewish National Home in Palestine.

DESPATCH TO LORD CURZON

10.XI.1919. *Cairo*

My Lord,

In Palestine there has been a marked improvement in the political situation.



The assembly of the newly-constituted Zionist Commission under the chairmanship of Dr Weizmann has already done a great deal to relieve the burden of trivial detail from our Administration and to weld together the Jewish elements in Palestine. M. Usshiskin's attitude at the outset was one of overbearing intolerance with a contempt for compromise. His relations with British officials were of an unhappy nature, which was accentuated by the fact that he cannot speak English. This has now been remedied by confining M. Usshiskin's activities to pure routine matter within the Zionist Commission. Dr Weizmann has been well received wherever he has gone, his personality going a long way to allaying feeling among the more responsible Moslem heads. The Arab national and irreconcilable element have so far failed in producing any political effect and their threats have not materialized, though their activities, directed against the British and Zionist, still continue.

My conviction that anti-Zionist feeling in Palestine is largely artificial and has been exaggerated both locally and at home is more than ever confirmed on further investigation. I do not anticipate any serious trouble in the initial stages of Zionism with the present moderation displayed by Zionist leaders.

There are, however, certain factors which still continue to foment a feeling antagonistic to Zionism and a British Mandate over Palestine.

Events in Egypt and Syria are reflected in Palestine in an exaggerated form and a serious situation or disorders in either of the two former countries would produce a wave of feeling in Palestine which would find its butt in Zionism.

The Arabs in Palestine are well armed and have plenty of ammunition. I do not pay much attention to this quite normal state of affairs, though it produces a feeling of insecurity among the community who regard Zionism as the spark which may light a general Palestine conflagration, an opinion which I do not share.

I have confronted the local French authorities with their anti-Zionist propaganda in Palestine and they agreed to stop it. I was gratified to hear that French officials have already received instructions from Paris that their attitude towards Zionism is to be of a more friendly nature.





Italian propaganda is of a more serious and complex nature and has been conducted in a much more subtle manner. Up to the present it has been difficult to gauge either its scope or intention. The Banco di Roma has fallen under suspicion as a political agency, Italian Roman Catholic organizations in Palestine have been active in furthering Italian popularity and Cardinal Giustini's recent visit to Jerusalem assumed an ill-concealed political role. It is also known that the Vatican is violently opposed to Zionism, as has already been reported to your Lordship.

I do not, however, anticipate much effect from any of these disturbing factors, though they will have to be carefully watched and countered.

There are in Palestine at the present moment two points calling for attention, neither of which is due to outside or hostile influence.

The first is lack of co-ordination and patience among the Jews themselves. This is being satisfactorily dealt with by the Zionist Commission and will be largely dissipated by the publication of the declaration embodied in your telegram 1216 of November 7th.

The second feature is the lack of some visible sign of the birth of Zionism in Palestine. This opens up several important questions which must be faced in the near future. I wish now to draw your Lordship's attention to the very great hardships now being experienced in Palestine from the delay in signing the Treaty of Peace with Turkey. Industrial and agricultural progress is impossible under the Laws and Usages of War, the influx of capital is checked owing to uncertainty in the future and general stagnation is writ large on the face of Palestine. We cannot stand by indefinitely and see Palestine and the Zionist cause rotting, more especially when the obstruction is the Allies' delay in settling Peace with Turkey. Such conditions cannot and should not be allowed to continue and in fairness to all sections in Palestine, I consider they are and have been patient under very trying circumstances and that they have every right to demand a modification on certain lines. The Zionist Commission have drawn up a constructive scheme of work which they wish to undertake at once and of which the following is a summary:





The Zionists are the only organization now in Palestine with the necessary brains, energy and resources to institute a commencement to progress, and in accordance with the policy of His Majesty's Government the Zionists are the right and proper body to undertake preparatory measures for building up their national home and for easing general economic situation.

The following suggestions are, in my opinion, admissible, and can materialize under the strict letter of the Laws and Usages of War:

1. The taking over of the Wieland Factory at Jaffa by the Zionists on a lease for a term of years, with a view to the manufacture of building material. The factory is German owned.
2. The purchase of land by the Zionists to enable them to construct one or more cement factories in suitable but as yet undecided localities. I am informed that £300,000 is available on this account.
3. The acquisition of the Sarona and Wilhelmina Colonies where some 70 houses give Zionists a suitable housing basis for immigrants of the skilled classes.
4. The building of good hotels in certain centres. This is a want which is largely felt by all classes in Palestine.
5. The opening of a large store which would benefit all classes in Jerusalem with branches elsewhere.
6. The opening of the Land Registries on a limited and strictly controlled scale.
7. Permission to introduce some 500-700 skilled workmen into Palestine to develop the above schemes.

I submit this comprehensive programme with hesitation, but only after fully going into each point. I am satisfied that the schemes are not only practicable but desirable from a general utility point of view. They establish first class industries, give a large employment to Arabs, bring about a considerable circulation of new money, they constitute work of a preliminary nature and vital to the success of Zionism, they generally benefit the whole community and fall within the scope of the Laws and Usages of War.

I have outlined the above programme only in an anticipatory





sense. Each and every scheme where policy is involved will be submitted to you for sanction before its inauguration.

I have the honour to be, etc.,

(sgd) R. Meinertzhagen,

Colonel,

Chief Political Officer.

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS,
EGYPTIAN EXPEDITIONARY FORCE,
November 17th, 1919

My Lord,

I have the honour to approach you on the subject of the future boundaries of Palestine.

I note that M. Clemenceau in his memorandum of October 10th, 1919, in reply to your memorandum of September 13th, 1919, respecting Syria, claims in para. 7 that the Palestine-Syrian frontier has been fixed by the Sykes-Picot agreement of 1916 and is in accordance with the interests of the two countries. This frontier, as you are aware, leaves the coast, south of Tyre, passes the north end of the Sea of Galilee, and thence across the Yarmuk valley to a point south of Deraa.

The purely provisional line, which for convenience I shall refer to as the Deauville Line and which demarcates the southern limit of the present British evacuation, passes considerably further north of the Sykes-Picot line, leaving the coast at the mouth of the Litani River, follows that river to its bend north, thence to Banias, the Wadi Muganiye and the western edge of the Leja.

The Sykes-Picot Line was fixed before His Majesty's Government was committed to Zionism, and cannot in any sense be said to satisfy the economic interests of Palestine.

The Deauville Line has similar objections in not satisfying the economic interests of Palestine, and appears to be a compromise between the Sykes-Picot Line and the frontier which was proposed in Paris by the British Delegation early this year, and which formed the basis of a discussion between the Prime Minister and M Clemenceau.

The Deauville Line, though of a provisional character, will from the previous history of such provisional arrangements



have considerable influence on the final decision and will tend to harden into the eventual boundary.

The ultimate development of Palestine west of the Jordan primarily depends upon agriculture by virtue of its soil, climate and proximity to the sea coast. Economic health in Palestine can only be assured by irrigation on a large scale, and the introduction of water other than rain. This water is only procurable in Northern Palestine, from the Jordan sources and the Litani River. Should Palestine be deprived of means of irrigation and water power on a most generous scale, its whole fabric is economically crippled from the outset. The loss of waters to the Power occupying Syria is small in comparison.

If these economic conditions are to be secured, the northern boundary should run from the sea, just north of the Litani River and following up, and at some distance from, the right bank, across it from west to east about the Litani gorges. The boundary should thence be guided by including those of the Hermon waters which flow into the Litani or Jordan basins. The Deauville Line, running as it does up the Litani Thalweg, neutralizes the water, and can only lead to disputes.

Except in the Gaza and Beersheba areas, Palestine west of the Jordan contains no large area of good grain producing country. The Gaza-Beersheba grain area is not a sufficiently large proportion of such land to the rest of Palestine, and should be supplemented by areas east of Jordan. This necessity is further emphasized by the desirability of Palestine having control of the Jordan valley as a whole, and the lower waters of Jordan tributaries flowing to the east. The Eastern boundary of Palestine should therefore pass some 25 to 30 kilometres west of the Hedjaz railway, after crossing the Yarmuk valley about half-way between Deraa and Samakh.

The Dead Sea offers great chemical possibilities and should be wholly within one mandated territory: the eastern border should therefore continue south, east of the Dead Sea, and thence to a point on the Gulf of Akaba, just east of Akaba town.

Access to the Red Sea, though now of small importance to Palestine, will mean a great deal in the future for an industrial Community which desires direct access with India and the Far East.



The southern boundary can well remain the old Turkish-Egyptian administrative boundary from the gulf of Akaba to Aqaba.

In proposing such a boundary, no effort has been made to introduce arguments of a strategic nature. Neither has much attention been paid to Kaza boundaries. Where these exist, they are purely arbitrary, and their alteration involves nothing more than a slight and temporary administrative inconvenience to local inhabitants. In fact the present Kaza boundaries of Syria and Palestine were deliberately made by Turkey with the object of splitting up Communities.

The eastern boundary does, however, cut through country periodically visited by Bedouin. This offers neither difficulties nor hardships, as there is no reason why Bedouin should not continue to undertake their seasonal migrations, provided they conform to the laws of the land. A parallel can be found in the thousands of Afghans with their flocks who migrate every winter from Southern Afghanistan to Sind. History also shows that when we come into direct contact with untamed and lawless communities, an increased security grows up. This is even now beginning to show itself in the Jordan valley.

I have the honour to be, etc.,

(sgd) R. Meinertzhagen,

Colonel,

Chief Political Officer.

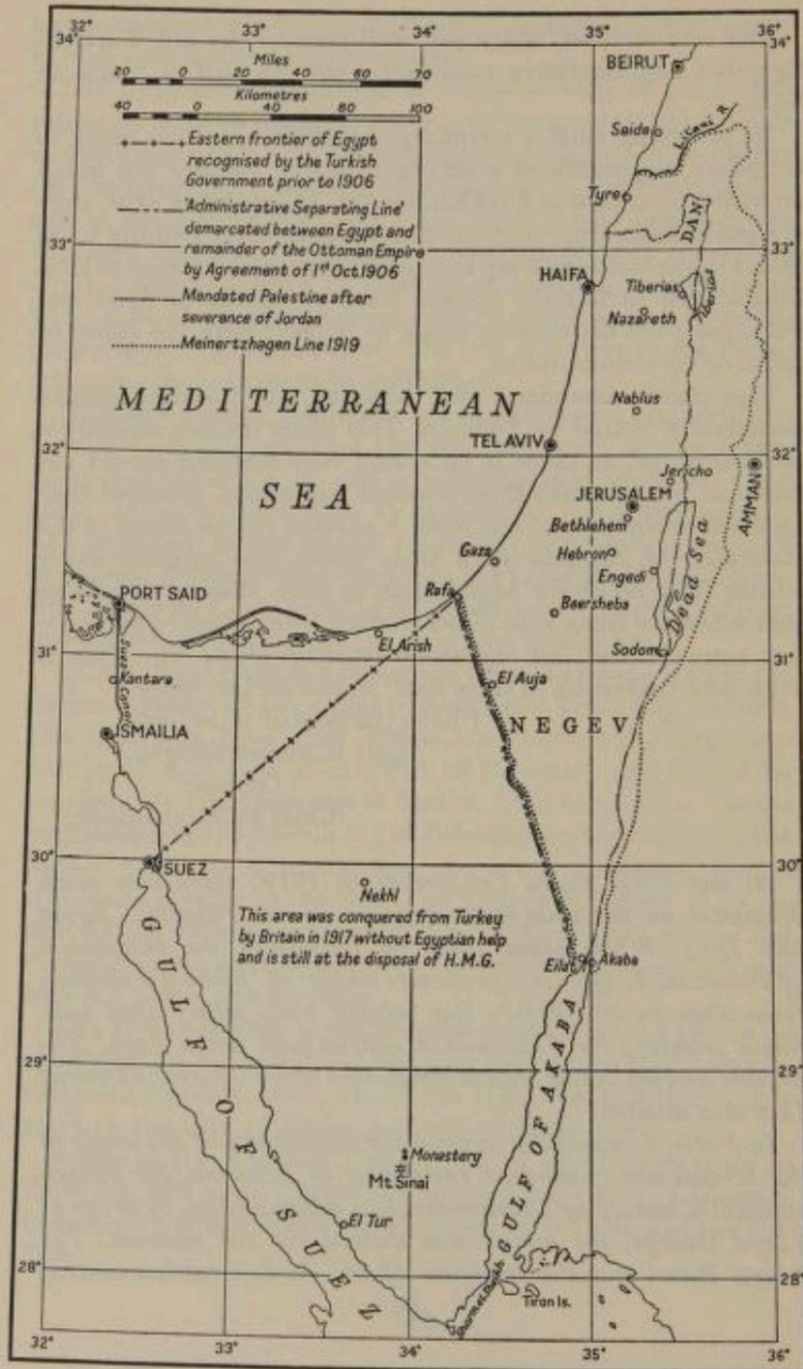
At the Paris Peace Conference in 1919, there was much discussion on the boundaries between Syria, Palestine, Egypt and Iraq. When asked what he considered the boundaries of Palestine, Lloyd George always answered 'Biblical Palestine, from Dan to Beersheba'. But nobody knew where Dan was. Small wonder, for Dan was a district and not a town. The present Kibbutz called Dan is somewhere about where the District Dan was situated.

In Paris, I repeatedly stressed the importance of the whole of the Jordan catchment-area remaining in Palestine, but French opposition, headed by Clemenceau, was adamant and, by order of Lloyd George, the subject was shelved for the moment. The Litani River and the inclusion of the Jordan catchment-area





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became known as the Meinertzhagen Line and is shown on the accompanying map as such.

The eventual northern boundary of Palestine fell far short of my hopes but it did include, more or less, the whole of Biblical Palestine including Moab (Transjordan).

In the accompanying map are shown the 'Meinertzhagen Line', the eventual boundary of Mandated Palestine after the illegal severance of Transjordan and the area of Sinai which was conquered from the Turks in 1917, and was therefore at the disposal of Britain. The present Egyptian occupation of this area had no authoritative sanction.

It was clear to me that the headquarters staff of the Palestine Administration were inefficient amateurs when dealing with the many financial and other problems arising in a country where rapid development was essential. I had great difficulty in persuading Allenby to send the following telegram as he always expressed the greatest confidence in the ability of the military administration.

From:— MEINERTZHAGEN

To:— PRODROME, LONDON

Date 2.12.19

With a view to investigation and advice regarding future lines of Policy in development, Finance and administration of Palestine. The Commander-in-Chief wishes to extend an invitation to the Rt. Hon. Herbert Samuel to visit Palestine.

It is considered essential to institute preliminary investigations so as to be prepared before the mandate is settled.

Any such advice and investigation would be in interest of present population of Palestine and would conform to pledges given to Zionism by H.M.G.

Will you forward the invitation if you concur.

31.XII.1919. *Cairo*

During the last two months my work has been wearisome and worrying. Our evacuation of Syria, initiated solely through French pressure at Home, has brought us into disfavour with the Arabs, and has not improved our relations with the French. The latter are experiencing an almost worse measure of trouble





with the Arabs than we anticipated, and a certain amount of fighting has already taken place. Our Foreign Office Policy has been to give way to the French on every point, with the result that French influence in Syria and the Near East is given a free field against our rapidly-vanishing superiority in prestige and popularity. And to what purpose? Presumably to keep on good terms with France, but it can only produce an opposite effect in the long run.

This wretched Entente, created for one single purpose—the war with Germany—has, now that we have thoroughly beaten the Hun, ceased to have any importance and the sooner we drop it the better. Our friendship with France, or indeed with any Latin Race, is unnatural and artificial. It can never be permanent. Germany's fault was her ambition and the drastic methods she used to attain them. She became the European bully and had to be crushed before she crushed others. That has now been successfully accomplished, Germany has learned her lesson, and I see no reason why she should not for the future be one of the leading moral lights in the family of Nations.

I realize that this would entail a complete reversal of Foreign Office Policy, which they are not for the present prepared to undertake, and I doubt if the British Public would be very enthusiastic about it so soon after the war, but it will come. I think people at home are already beginning to get a little tired of France, and it will not be long before public opinion will see through her shallow and insincere policy and her ingrained hatred for us.

Zionism, under the propelling influence of Weizmann, has been to me what I can best describe as the anomaly of a pleasant infliction. It has been one continual up-hill struggle against prejudice, intrigue and ignorance. I am not sure that the world is not still too selfish to appreciate the worth of the merits of Zionist aims. The world is certainly too anti-semitic and too suspicious of Jewish brains and money.

In any case I find myself alone out here among gentiles, in upholding Zionism, which does not make matters at all easy. I am only just beginning to see daylight and only now am I beginning to clear away or brush aside the many obstacles





placed in the path of Zionism in the Foreign Office, War Office, Allenby, Bols and a host of minor fry. It is heart-breaking work against such opposition and I sometimes feel inclined to scrap the whole thing and swim with the tide. I freely express my views to all and sundry and produce what I consider to be unanswerable arguments, but it takes more than that to break down a combination of obstinate prejudice and a deep-rooted but suppressed anti-semitic feeling. I am not surprised that people think I must be a Jew, when I stand alone among Christians here as a friend to Zionism. And that is the irony of the whole situation, for I am also imbued with anti-semitic feelings, and would wish that Zionism could be divorced from Jewish Nationality. But it cannot, and I prefer to accept it as it is, than oppose it on grounds of immaterial prejudice. The idea of fighting for Jews against Christians and my own people is most distasteful to me, but it is what I have had to do out here for the last few months. And I feel that the best in Zionism is an ideal well worth fighting for, an ideal which must eventually materialize and win. It was indeed an accursed day that allowed Jews and not Christians to introduce to the world the principles of Zionism, and that allowed Jewish brains and Jewish money to carry it out, almost unhindered by Christians save a handful of enthusiasts in England.

A word about Weizmann, the leader of the Movement. Seldom did I admire a man more. Never did I see such singleness of purpose, such determination, such farsightedness and such a rich intellect, all embodied in one soul. Seldom has a man dealing in such large ideas been so honest and so sincere. So much is this the case, that it annoys me that Weizmann should be a Jew, it annoys me that he should be so far ahead of Christians in intelligence and general purity of mind, and it annoys me that such a continent of knowledge should be combating Christians for principles which are Christian, and which are as pure and progressive as any principles since the day of Christ.

6.I.1920. *Cairo*

I had a long talk with Allenby last night and our talk drifted into the far future; he thought the dissolution of the British





Empire inevitable as the people we rule become more educated; but will education alone fit them for self-government; will education give them responsibility and integrity and leadership? I agree that in say sixty years the British Empire may be reduced to Canada, Australia, New Zealand and a few fortress islands. Even in Africa, especially in Somaliland and among the more intelligent tribes of East Africa such as the Kikuyu and Nandi, we shall find the urge to govern themselves too strong for us; and this will be inflamed by the way we have stolen and occupied native land. Yes, there is a bad time coming for the white settler in East Africa. But for the moment I am concerned about Egypt, Sinai and Israel. We cease to control the Suez Canal in 1966; by that time we shall have been pushed out of Egypt who can then close the Canal against our shipping if she wishes and the Egyptians are a particularly spiteful lot. The closing of the Canal to our ships might ruin us, so we must guard against it. There is also the question of the Jews in Palestine. I firmly believe that in twenty to thirty years a Jewish Sovereign State will be established in Palestine. The Arabs will not like that and on all sides they will be attacked and I can see a big upheaval in the Middle East with European States taking sides. Now, quite by chance, talking to Maule in 1917, I came across a solution of this problem. At the beginning of the century the Turko-Egyptian frontier ran from Suez to Rafa. In 1906, Turkey granted Egypt administrative rights up to the line Rafa-Aqaba. Allenby conquered the whole of Turkish-Sinai, therefore Sinai east of the line Suez-Rafa belongs to Britain and is at our disposal. I begged Allenby to put this up to the F.O. as if we occupy Sinai east of the line Suez-Rafa it gives us a stranglehold on the Canal, it creates a buffer between Egypt and Palestine, there is no indigenous population problem, we might even dig another canal between the Mediterranean and the Gulf of Aqaba and it would give us an ideally situated garrison to protect our Trade to the Far East.

Allenby was most interested when I told him all this and has promised to put up the suggestion to the War Office.

I put this proposition to Lloyd George last year in Paris, but doubt if it sank in.





EXTRACT FROM DESPATCH FROM CHIEF POLITICAL OFFICER TO
FOREIGN OFFICE

Cairo, January 13th, 1920

Palestine

In Palestine, the visit of Dr Weizmann had a marked effect, not only on his own people but on the Arab inhabitants of Palestine. He was able to co-ordinate Zionist effort, and moderate the extremist and too progressive elements. He got into personal contact with many of the Arab notables in Palestine and did a great deal to dispel the many illusory ideas on Zionism which have been saturating Palestine from foreign and badly-informed sources. He established a cordial relationship with the Palestine administration.

The general political situation in Palestine has also improved from other causes: a relaxation of French and Italian anti-Zionist propaganda, a general feeling that the policy of His Majesty's Government must be accepted and a better knowledge of what Zionism means. There is nevertheless still a large section of public opinion in Palestine opposed to Zionism, while any unfortunate occurrence or increase in anti-Zionist propaganda would fan opposition into a renewed and violent flame of demonstration.

It is with a view to stifling this, whilst it is still latent, that I have advocated the publication of the Declaration on Zionism (vide your telegram 1216 of November 7th), but hitherto the consensus of opinion in the Palestine Administration doubts the advisability of such a course. I am all the more anxious to press for the publication of the Declaration, as it will once and for all dispel the anti-Zionist attitude of a large section of the European community in Palestine, who still doubt the permanency of Zionism.

The repatriation of many pre-war Jewish residents in Palestine has given alarm to certain sections who regard such steps as the initial stages of wholesale immigration, but as far as I can ascertain none but an infinitesimal proportion of Jews entering Palestine have evaded our Permit authorities.

With reference to my despatch of November 10th, 1919, the following progress has been made in preliminary Zionist work:





- (a) A lease of the Wieland factory has been secured by the Zionist Commission.
- (b) A sub-lease from an Arab of the Sarona and Wilhelmina colonies has also been secured.
- (c) Application has been made to the War Office (telegram E.A. 2902 of December 1st, 1919) for permission to re-open the Land Registries to a limited extent, but so far no reply has been received.
- (d) The Zionist Commission are making arrangements to send a representative to Southern Russia to recruit certain skilled labourers for preliminary work in Palestine.

As Your Lordship will realize, the foundation of all serious preparatory work is the re-opening of the Land Registries, as without this permission not only can the housing problem not be tackled, but building material factories cannot be erected. Lack of such permission is also blocking the erection of hotels and stores, which are so badly needed through the country.

I have the honour to be, etc.,

(sgd) R. Meinertzhagen,

Colonel,

Chief Political Officer.

On March 2nd, 1920, I addressed a despatch to Lord Curzon reporting anti-Zionist demonstrations in Jerusalem and demanding unity with Syria. I had traced the source of these demonstrations to French propaganda which had increased considerably during the past two months. I thought that France aims at nothing less than wrecking the policy of H.M.G. in Palestine, and I begged Lord Curzon to ask the French Government to put a stop to what amounts to most dishonourable conduct on the part of our Ally.

I added that the Chief Administrator in Palestine agreed with this despatch.

I include the following three letters as they are typical of the atmosphere in which I worked. The first letter was drafted by Waters-Taylor and signed by Bols who admitted to me later that he had not read it.





JERUSALEM
March 19th, 1920

B.G.G.S.

G.H.Q., Cairo

With reference to the attached report from 'El-Carmel' I wish to point out that Colonel Meinertzhagen toured this country and expressed opinions without my knowledge or authority, except in the case of Hebron, where he asked my permission to approach the Notables on the subject of Zionism. At Nablus and Haifa, both Mr Herbert Samuel and myself had already discussed the question with leading Notables, it was therefore superfluous for Colonel Meinertzhagen to do so.

I wish to emphasize that, whilst I am responsible for the public security of this country, it is most inadvisable that officers from G.H.Q. discuss questions with the inhabitants which lie entirely within my sphere and that in addition they do so without my knowledge or consent.

However well meant and tactfully expressed Colonel Meinertzhagen's views may have been, they have had the actual result of highly exciting an already irritated people.

L. J. Bols,
Major-General,
Chief Administrator.

B.G.G.S.

Reference to the Chief Administrator's letter of 19.3.

I am very sorry indeed that he should have found it necessary to write this letter.

As regards his para. 1. When at Jerusalem at the outset of my tour, I told the Chief Administrator exactly where I was going and asked him what I might or might not say. He distinctly told me that I could be quite open about the policy of His Majesty's Government based on Curzon's declaration. I informed the Chief Administrator before I left Jerusalem that Colonel Hubbard was arranging a meeting between myself and Nablus notables, to which no objection was raised.

As regards Haifa. When I arrived there, at Colonel Staunton's request I had a long talk with Suleiman Hassif and also at Colonel Staunton's request I dined with Fuad Saad and spoke





on the Zionist policy. I never pressed Colonel Staunton to be allowed to do so; he was at first anxious that I should not interview Haifa notables, but afterwards requested me to do so.

As regards para. 2. I acted at Hebron with the knowledge and consent of the Chief Administrator. I acted at Nablus with the knowledge and consent of the Chief Administrator and the Military Governor and I acted at Haifa at the request of the Military Governor.

I should like to add that the report attached to the Chief Administrator's letter is an inaccurate and misleading document.

(sgd) R. Meinertzhagen.

23.3.19

B.G.G.S.

G.H.Q.

With reference to the attached minute by the C.P.O. I much regret my inaccuracy with regard to my statement that Colonel Meinertzhagen discussed matters at Nablus without my knowledge.

I now remember that he did tell me and that I agreed.

I have now also heard from the Military Governor, Haifa, that he approved of the discussions which took place there.

Owing to the great excitement which was created at both these places, it is evident that the greatest caution must be used in the future in discussing the Zionist policy.

I desire to apologize to Colonel Meinertzhagen for my misstatements.

L. J. Bols,
Major-General.

1st April, 1920

On March 31st, 1920, I sent a despatch to Lord Curzon informing him that Dr Weizmann had arrived in Palestine during the previous week and that Herbert Samuel would leave Palestine on April 1st.

I recorded a marked political change in Palestine which had practically coincided with Herbert Samuel's visit. This period has been marked by an increased political agitation against





Zionism, and in anti-Zionist demonstrations. But the period has also been marked by the good behaviour of all classes.

I believed that anti-Zionist feeling in Palestine is prompted by fear of superior Jewish brains and money, the fear of the poor for the rich, of the uneducated for the educated, by the knowledge that the eventual dispossession of Arabs by Jews is inevitable and that Jewish immigration spells an eventual Jewish State. I could not conceal from myself that these Arab fears are not groundless. The fact that the Jews have been allowed to establish their home in Palestine means eventual Jewish possession of that country.

There is no doubt that Zionism must and will succeed for the benefit of all its inhabitants. Under Zionism the Arabs will be compelled to enjoy an increased prosperity and security, though they will lose that delightful atmosphere of idle possession in an undeveloped wilderness. If the Arabs refuse or fail to compete with the Jews, is it fair that Palestine, with its undeveloped resources, should be denied progress because some of its inhabitants are incapable or unwilling to assist?

There are now signs that the Zionists are becoming exasperated and anti-Zionist feeling is passing out of control. I regard this as due to delay in settling the future status of the country, its boundaries and its Mandatory Power. The present Military Administration is but a temporary measure of short duration, its creed is stagnation, its object to keep the peace. A continuation of such conditions with a highly civilized, sensitive and idealistic community clamouring to be allowed to lay the foundations of their National Home after 2,000 years in exile, and a fanatical, retrogressive and ill-civilized community equally anxious to prevent such a policy being put into execution, is becoming well-nigh intolerable.

French influence and political activity have not been helpful; they have been actively working against the Zionist policy in Palestine. But French intrigue has done no more than increase the contempt in which the French are held throughout Syria and Palestine.

Though immediate trouble is not expected in Palestine there is always the risk, with present uncertainties, of minor cases of violence.





The following is typical of a number of petitions sent in by various Arab Organizations during my period of office.

Letter from the Director of the Arab Club, Jerusalem

TO HIS EXCELLENCY LORD ALLENBY

April, 1920

(1) We avail ourselves of the opportunity of your being in Jerusalem to write to Your Excellency this our protest against the deeds and intentions of the Jews in this country, our native land, to which you have been sent to carry out the principles of your Government and those of the Allied nations.

How glad we are to see you returning to the town that you have liberated from the slavery of oppression, in accordance with cause for which this dreadful war took place!

Honourable Lord, the Arabs of Palestine have fought, as the other nations, on your side, and have been sufficiently favoured by fortune that they have won the war, so far as Turkey alone is concerned. They have also entered Syria.

Your Excellency knows their character and courage more than any other one. Your Excellency knows perfectly well that if they keep still nowadays, and do no harm for anyone, they never do so because of humiliation or abasement, but simply to see the result of the work of the 'Peace Conference'. This they intend doing so that they may prove to all concerned that they are intimate friends, who do not want to do harm first (to begin with harmful things).

Be sure, Lord, that they (petitioners) will accept no regime or rules which will do them harm and cause their children to be humiliated. They will emancipate themselves alone and will make for the elevation of the standard of their children personally. This, they will do, when they see that the Conference has abandoned its principle.

We daily hear about the statesmen of Britain and France what hurts our internal feelings and excites in us such feelings as may be the cause of great tribulations in the East. Your Excellency is well aware of the fact that if a spark touches a body which is ready to catch fire, that spark will set it on fire (burn it).





We declare that we cannot accept the Jews in our country. Should they be permitted to do what they intend doing, we shall fight against them till death. We have learned from this war to be extremely cruel to those who intend to encroach upon our rights. We declare that we do not accept the Jews neither as guests nor as neighbours in Palestine: we do not accept that they be allowed to come to Palestine as slaves or servants, neither do we admit or approve of their language being used in any office whatever. How can two languages, the Arabic and the Hebrew, be recognized as the official language of a country, which is the native land of one nation, the Arabic nation, when there are only a few amongst the Jews themselves who can speak Hebrew. The official language of this country is and has been for a long time the Arabic language, which should continue to be so until such time as the earth itself changes.

The Jews come into this country; which thing the English Administration allows. The many strange Jewish faces we see daily in our country is our proof to that effect.

(2) We protest against the article of Monsieur Bion Simon, a member of the Zionist Society in London, which was published in *Zionist di Wobo* newspaper. This article proves their bad or evil intentions, and excites the opinions of the Arabs, by means of which, it is feared, great tribulations will be brought into existence. It does not suffice them to state certain things with regard to their being desirous of immigrating into our country, but they say other things relative to their being desirous of driving us forcibly out of it, this they are unable to do (cannot do).

The twentieth century allows us to lift up our voices, causing them to be heard by all the world, and never permits other people to encroach upon our rights, which it wants us to defend. We will either defend them or die.

(3) We have heard about the organization of a new government, for which we thank the Government, which thinks of the benefit of this country. But as we completely recognize Palestine as only a part of Syria, the natives of which have declared or owned their independence, within its natural boundaries, and as His Excellency Ameer Feisal was chosen king over it, we ask





that the Government be formed according to the opinion of our laudable king and 'Capital'.

Kindly accept our respectful regards,
(Sgd) Mohammed I. Derweesh,
Director of the Arab Club,
(Moslem and Christian Society).

The Chancery,
The Residency,
Cairo.

Copy sent to Foreign Office

I have a few remarks to make on Dr Weizmann's memorandum on Zionism.

The Arab Position in Palestine

I agree that anti-Zionism owes its origin to artificial causes—propaganda and political intrigue—but, however artificial in origin, we are now faced with a solid block of anti-Zionist opposition in Palestine. I believe this opposition to be shallow and based on vested interests. If it were based on a deep national feeling, which I am convinced is not the case, there would be cause for apprehension. The basic argument of all anti-Zionists in Palestine is that the Jew will eventually swamp and dispossess the Arab, no matter how good his intentions and no matter how anxious a Mandatory Power is to prevent it.

Arab feeling against the Jew is that of the poor for the rich, of the uneducated for the educated. I do not believe there is any genuine religious or national factor in anti-Zionism, though both are used ad nauseam as convenient arguments and as excuses for stirring up trouble.

There is no doubt of the truth of Dr Weizmann's statement that 'Anti-Zionist and Anti-British Propaganda among the Arabs run parallel', I would go further than this in affirming that the French and Italian Governments, having adhered to the policy of establishing a National Home for the Jews in Palestine, are now using Zionism as a weapon, not against the Zionists but against Great Britain. French and Italian solicitation for the Arabs is a thin veneer covering an inherent hatred and mistrust for Great Britain by these Latin races.





Once the pernicious influences are removed—and this can only be when the Peace with Turkey is signed—anti-Zionism will moderate its views and Zionism will get a chance to be understood by all and sundry who refuse to understand it either because it does not suit them to do so, or because they confuse the noble ideas of Zionism with the Jewish character as painted by Shakespeare.

The Land Question

It is true that there are vast areas of waste and uncultivated land in Palestine. There are also large areas of State Land. But experience has shown that an owner or tenant invariably appears when any question of its ownership or tenancy arises—and, until a cadastral survey has been undertaken, it will be difficult to deal satisfactorily with the land question.

The fact is that the acreage of Palestine is much too large and wasteful for its present population. Idle possession is an Arab idyll which lends a picturesque atmosphere to the Holy Land, but which is an odious obstruction to progress. Large and absentee landlords cannot exist in a backward country. Their fate under modern ideas and conditions is assured, if not by legislation, then by public opinion and public action.

Land can and will be made available for Zionist requirements. There is no lack of land, only a lack of will to allow Jews to possess such land. A cadastral survey, the re-opening of the Land Registries to an eventual unlimited degree and the establishment of the principle that the Zionist Commission will get preferential treatment in the matter of State Lands, will soon revolutionize, democratize and improve the land question in Palestine.

Public Works

The pith of this paragraph is summed up in the last sentence 'It only needs the hand of man, capital, intelligence and energy'. All factors which are foreign to the Arab race.

Possibilities of Palestine

No remarks.

Colonization and Defence of Transjordan

As far as I am aware, the Defence of Palestine will be vested in the Mandatory Power, whose weapons will be an army of occu-





pation. National Defence can be dealt with by police or gendarmerie raised by the Palestine Government. I therefore cannot support Dr Weizmann's idea of importing Jews from Transcaucasia for the defence of Palestine. Their merits as colonists is a different question.

Neither do I anticipate any serious or chronic trouble from the Bedouin. With the modern appliances of war, the Bedouin can be taught lessons which will soon eradicate raids from the defence problems of Palestine.

Immediate Programme

- (1) The Land Ordinance has now received the sanction of the War Office and Foreign Office and is in progress of being put into being.
- (2) There is no reason why a cadastral survey should not be commenced forthwith on an extensive scale. It is most necessary.
- (3) At present we have sanction for 700 or so skilled workmen. Fifty of these from Poland are now on the way. The whole question of immigration is now the subject of correspondence between the High Commissioner and the Foreign Office. I understand that about 100 per month is the basis on which the new regulations will be framed. I am strongly of the opinion that this figure could be safely doubled. Palestine can hold an ever-increasing influx and we cannot continue to refuse to Palestine the only factor which can raise her up from stagnation to activity, namely labour, energy and science. I am further of opinion that the present immigration regulations, for which I have been partly responsible, are slow, cumbersome and annoying. Under a scheme recently proposed by the Foreign Office and which recommends itself to me, we get a method which speeds up controlling machinery and removes unnecessary hardship and delays. It need not mean an increased number of immigrants, or greater risks in introducing undesirable elements.

The main principle about immigration is that it must be controlled. The Zionist organization realizes this as fully as to the British authorities in London and Palestine.





I believe that the gradual incorporation into the Palestine administration of well educated English and Palestinian Jews would work largely for a better understanding of Zionism and a more sympathetic and efficient administration. I spoke to the Chief Administrator on this subject last month and he agreed in principle.

I wish finally to emphasize Dr Weizmann's concluding sentence. Apart from the merits of Zionism, the meaning of a strong, healthy contented Palestine has been given small weight by our imperial strategists. It takes but little imagination to realize such an asset and but poor foresight to underestimate its value.

(sgd) R. Meinertzhagen,
Colonel,
Chief Political Officer.

C.P.O.,
G.H.Q., E.E.F.
April 9th, 1920.

At Easter, 1920, anti-Jew riots occurred in Jerusalem. Religious ceremonies took on a political aspect. I had ample warning that these riots might occur and I warned General Bols and Waters-Taylor. I also had ample evidence that Haj al Amin (who later became Mufti of Jerusalem) was stirring up the Arab element in Jerusalem encouraged by Waters-Taylor. I warned both Bols and Allenby, neither of whom paid much attention; no precautionary measures were taken in Jerusalem, Waters-Taylor absenting himself in Jericho for the day. I regarded the rioting as a deliberate attempt by the Administration to show H.M.G. the futility of trying to impose Zionism on Palestine.

On April 14th, I addressed a despatch to Lord Curzon of which the following is a paraphrased summary. The Foreign Office have refused me permission to publish this document verbatim. I criticized the British Administration centred in Jerusalem, I recorded that the officers of the Administration are, almost without exception, anti-Zionist in their views and are encouraging the Arabs. Zionism is being brought into the world





as a discontented child, accustomed only to troubles and disappointments. The indirect influence on public feeling has had a demoralizing and dangerous effect. The Jews mistrust the British Administration and believe it reflects the policy of Whitehall. The Arabs are encouraged and imagine that by acts of violence they can sabotage Zionism.

The Administration were warned of trouble in Jerusalem, took inadequate steps to prevent it and failed to keep order in Jerusalem when trouble arose.

It was known that Easter is the season of disturbances. It was known that the police were untrustworthy. Political demonstrations had been forbidden by the Administrator; it was known that many Jewish soldiers were in Jerusalem on leave for the Passover. Religious processions quickly turned political and matters became worse until, on Easter Sunday, Jerusalem was handed over to the military.

I considered that these events were an exact replica in miniature of a pogrom; the Jews were apprehensive and warned the Administration; the Arabs were intent on trouble and emboldened by a belief that they had the sympathy of the Administration. The police proved inadequate or sided with their co-religionists; military assistance was invoked and the trouble ceased; military control relaxed and trouble recommenced. Military control was again resumed and conditions took on a normal aspect.

The aftermath of these events is typical. The Moslems formally demanded the removal of the Zionist Commission and the disbandment of the 38th (Jewish) Battalion of the Royal Fusiliers. The Chief Administrator supported both measures but they were vetoed by the High Commissioner.

I had written freely and not without bias. But I felt that Lord Curzon would excuse such free criticism, when it comes from one who stands almost alone among the Christian officers of the Egyptian Expeditionary Force in looking with favour on the Zionist policy of His Majesty's Government.

I received personal letters from both Lord Curzon and Lloyd George congratulating me on such a straightforward and courageous document.





iv.1920. *Cairo*



Allenby sent for me to-day and showed me a cable he proposed sending to the War Office, at the same time asking my agreement. The telegram complained that I had criticized his administration in Palestine and that if one of his staff was permitted to do this he could no longer remain Commander-in-Chief. In other words either he or I must go and I know full well who is going. Allenby was extremely nice about it and asked me to stay to lunch which I did. But I hope the Foreign Office will now insist on the Military Administration being replaced by a High Commissioner. I have sent a private cable to Curzon strongly recommending Samuel; also to Lloyd George with a similar recommendation.

26.iv.1920. *Cairo*

When I took over the appointment of Chief Political Officer last year I found that there was no machinery through which I could keep myself informed of what was going on in Jewish and Arab circles below the surface. I therefore organized a small intelligence service under one of my staff—an extremely competent young lady—and employed several agents both Jews and Arabs in Palestine and Syria. Intelligence is a Jewish virtue; intrigue is an Arab vice. I soon found myself inundated with all sorts of underground information, some very inaccurate but some both accurate and important. It gave me a shock when I found that officers of the British Administration were actively implicated and plotting against their own government. I warned both Allenby and Bols but they preferred silence to exposure; so I wrote a private and secret letter to Lord Curzon just before the Jerusalem riots at Easter, setting out the following information.

Waters-Taylor kept Feisal in Damascus informed of what was going on, as also did Haj al Amin (later Mufti of Jerusalem). Feisal had been given to understand that the Arabs of Palestine would welcome federation with Syria under one crown—Feisal's crown. Feisal encouraged this move and secretly formed what was known as the 'Palestine Legion' whose object was to free Palestine from Jewish and British domination.





On April 2nd, Storrs sent for the leading Moslems of Jerusalem and warned them not to introduce politics into religious ceremonies. The Moslems said it was impossible not to do so and suggested that Storrs should address the Moslems of Jerusalem. Storrs replied 'They will not listen to me as they think I am the friend of the Jews when the exact opposite is the case.'

Waters-Taylor saw Haj al Amin on the Wednesday before Easter and told him that he had a great opportunity at Easter to show the world that the Arabs of Palestine would not tolerate Jewish domination in Palestine; that Zionism was unpopular not only with the Palestine Administration but in Whitehall and if disturbances of sufficient violence occurred in Jerusalem at Easter, both General Bols and General Allenby would advocate the abandonment of the Jewish Home. Waters-Taylor explained that freedom could only be attained through violence.

I also discovered that the French Consul in Jerusalem had written to his chief in Beirut, claiming that he was working energetically and inciting the Moslems against the Jews and also against the British Administration.

Before the riots the Jews were most apprehensive as they saw no hope of protection from the Administration; they were thrown back on their own resources; so widespread was the fear of rioting at Easter and the resulting wave of hatred between Jew and Arab that many Moslem Villages voluntarily placed themselves under the protection of neighbouring Jewish villages begging for peace and friendship.

On the day of the rioting the following notice was displayed all over Jerusalem: 'The Government is with us, Allenby is with us, kill the Jews; there is no punishment for killing Jews.'

And Waters-Taylor, on the day before the rioting, warned the Mufti of Jerusalem and Haj al Amin that the Jews intended to assassinate them both.

On the day of the rioting Waters-Taylor absented himself in Jericho for the day. Two days after the rioting he sent for the Mayor of Jerusalem—Moussa Kasim Pasha—and said 'I gave you a fine opportunity; for five hours Jerusalem was without military protection; I had hoped you would avail yourself of the opportunity but you have failed.' This conversation was confirmed from two sources.





The whole of the above was sent to Lord Curzon and communicated verbally to General Congreve, the latter refusing to take action and discrediting the whole story.

Immediately after the riots there was a meeting of Moslem notables in Jerusalem.

Aref el Aref said:

'It is common knowledge that those who attack lose the game; we shall not gain by violence as we are the aggressors and public opinion will condemn us. But, fortunately, the British Administration is on our side and we shall not be hurt. My advice, then, is to continue the assault on the Jews.'

Kamal il Budsiri said:

'We shall deliver our country by the sword. We are glad the massacre of the Jews took place and that we have looted them. And in consequence many Jews have been arrested and we are free. The world admires the power of the sword and despises justice and common sense'.

Fahry il Husseini reminded the audience of the courage of the Jews, adding: 'If the Government had allowed the Jews to fight, many of us would have been killed. We have to thank the police who are on our side.'

On April 13th, the Mufti of Jerusalem sent the following message to the Moslems of Hebron:

'We are proud of our great victory and of the murder of Jews whom we have killed and the booty we have taken. Do your best through the Chief Secretary to assure that the Government does not oppose us.' (The Chief Secretary was Waters-Taylor.)

On April 16th a meeting was held in Jerusalem at the house of the Mayor. A Moslem notable called Hafes Ara Tukan said 'This is a great moment; we have succeeded in a great national movement. Now is the time to declare our freedom; we shall meet with no opposition; the British Administration is with us. We must make it appear that our action is against the Jews, but on the day of revolution we shall destroy the British Administration and with it the Zionists.'



On April 23rd, the Moslem notables of Jaffa and Ludd met the notables of Ramleh when a message from the Mufti of Jerusalem was read out. It ran:

'We are making great preparations for a revolution to be carried out at Ramadan. All the Bedouin of Transjordan and further south will co-operate. At the moment, the Administration suspect and we can do nothing but be ready for the day when we shall deliver our country from the Jews.'

This meeting decided to circulate messages to Beersheba, Gaza, Haifa, Tul Keram, Nablus and Nazareth, whilst a letter on the subject was sent to Feisal in Damascus. The meeting decided to cover themselves by sending a telegram to Allenby (which I saw) reading 'We are not responsible for the unrest in Palestine nor for the hatred by Moslems for the Jews.'

Thirty-eight years later I was privileged to see reports by secret agents of the Zionist Agency in Jerusalem and these confirmed nearly all the above, in many cases word for word.

2.VI.1920. *Port Said*

I have not written up my diary for some months, which has been due to various causes. Since my visit to Siwa Oasis in January last, I have been busier than ever with my work. Matters rapidly reached a crisis about Easter time, I fought Allenby and his administration on the Zionist question, exposed the lamentable state of affairs to the Foreign Office, succeeded in removing the heads of the Administration and transferring responsibility from the War Office to the Foreign Office, thereby bringing into Palestine a civil Government under Herbert Samuel. My work automatically ceased and my appointment became impossible. Allenby clamoured for my removal and I go, but meanwhile I have done what I set out to do, namely I have set Zionism up in Palestine against a solid block of local opposition. But the work has been most exhausting and worrying, leaving me thoroughly tired and crying out for a holiday.

I shall now try briefly to review the events which have occurred in connection with my work during the past three months. They have been of absorbing interest.





When I returned from Siwa Oasis early in February, I found Herbert Samuel in Jerusalem, busy working out the future financial and administrative policies of Palestine in conjunction with General Bols, the Chief Administrator, and Colonel Waters-Taylor, the Chief of the Staff. Soon after this I paid a long visit to Palestine and was able to size up these three men and their methods. Herbert Samuel is an attractive personality and modest to a degree approaching shyness. He is very reserved in all he says or writes, but he has quite decided opinions on all matters which interest him. He has a quick, absorbent brain.

Bols has a very different character and nature. He is fortunate in possessing a very lovable nature and is generally liked by all with whom he comes into contact, but he is hopelessly weak and obstinate. He is not clever and, being naturally lazy, is ignorant about matters which he should have studied, more especially administrative detail. This trait has compelled him to rely on the wits and brains of others. His weak character makes those who do not know him doubt his sincerity, but never did an honest or straighter soldier live. Such a character, when brought into contact with Waters-Taylor, falls an easy prey to the latter's evil influences and intrigues.

Waters-Taylor has a curious nature, fortunately rare among soldiers. He is a man who works purely for himself, and is as deliberately inaccurate in his statements as he is unscrupulous in his acts. When he took up his appointment about Christmas last, he set himself the task of gaining complete control of Bols's intellect, and he succeeded to the downfall of both. Waters-Taylor has a strong will which is ruined by bombast and ambition; he has a clear and able brain which is ruined by the taint of intrigue and deceit. His manifestations of loyalty to Bols ill-concealed his thirst for power and a childish jealousy and intolerance for any other force which stood in the way of his aspiring ambition. His reputation for double-dealing was best described by a friend of his whom I asked for an opinion about Waters-Taylor. He replied 'To which Waters-Taylor do you refer?'

Ronald Storrs was appointed Governor of Jerusalem in 1917, and held that post with distinction for many years; later on he was appointed Governor of Cyprus and then Southern





Rhodesia. Both these tasks ended in disaster. His chief asset was his greatest fault, in that his laziness compelled him to work hard in getting what is good from the brains of others. He was an exceptionally well-read man, a brilliant raconteur and a good musician. His long residence in the East and his close connection with the Arab had orientalized his mind, introducing an exceptionally strong element of intrigue and intellectual dishonesty. Mental somersaults were no effort. He could be an enthusiast for Zionism and the next day suffering from violent hebraphobia. He was a dangerous man, not knowing the meaning of the words loyalty or sincerity.

Indeed, the position of many officials in Palestine was desperate—conflicting loyalties, rival claimants, the intelligence of the Jews and senseless fanaticism of the Arabs, the varying interpretations of 'justice' etc. Ronald Storrs aptly remarks, 'Two hours of Arab grievances drive me into the Synagogue, while after an intense course of Zionist propaganda I am prepared to embrace Islam.'

Herbert Samuel has been a very great help to us all since he came out. Bols, since he assumed the office of Chief Administrator in Palestine, has become the tool of Waters-Taylor in encouraging Emir Feisal against the French in Syria and in trying to crush the whole Zionist policy. My various memoranda and despatches since last March have dealt fully on all these matters, from Feisal's declaration of Kingship and independence up to the unfortunate Eastertide disturbances in Jerusalem. I realized just before Easter that I had either to sit quiet and tolerate an organization working against the Foreign Office Policy or else I could expose the whole plot and of course evacuate my impossible position. I chose the latter course. Waters-Taylor's toxin had so worked on Bols's weak intellect and had so influenced both Allenby and Congreve, that they all became hopelessly infected with anti-Zionist and pro-Arab ideas. They placed Feisal and the Arabs on that pedestal of romance to which they are only entitled by their picturesque dress and some other attractive mannerisms. The Arab has been surrounded by that same halo of romance with which our East African officials used to clothe the Masai. I have dared to tear down this halo and expose the Arab and his so-called





government as rotten and never likely to be anything else. I have dared to say that I doubt if an Arab Kingdom is any more than a dream, and that Arab National Feeling is based on our gold and nothing else. And for this I am deemed a vandal and worse by the Cairo Residency and the Palestine Administration. I have also dared to uphold our Government's Zionist policy in the face of a bloc of opposition from Allenby downwards, and have therefore sinned. I have refused to become a partner in the Waters-Taylor confederacy.

Matters reached their climax at Easter, when Anti-Jew riots occurred in Jerusalem. I blamed the Administration and, in my offending despatch to Curzon, I fully state my views for taking such drastic action. I need hardly say I fully realized when I wrote that despatch that my presence in Egypt or Palestine became impossible, and I wrote the document with the direct intention of throwing out the Military Administration of Palestine, of removing Palestine from Allenby's sphere and of introducing a civil administration under Herbert Samuel, which would deal direct with the Foreign Office. In this I succeeded, but my action brought me into immediate and direct conflict with Allenby, Congreve, Bols and Waters-Taylor, with the result that Allenby wired to the War Office demanding my recall as I had condemned his administration in direct opposition to his views. Both the War Office and Foreign Office tried to uphold me but Allenby's threat to resign forced them to recall me and abolish my appointment.

However, I achieved my object. My offending despatch found Lord Curzon, Lloyd George and Herbert Samuel at San Remo. They acted on my advice within twenty-four hours of its receipt. The military administration fell and with it Bols and Waters-Taylor. Herbert Samuel comes out at the head of a civil administration directly responsible to the Foreign Office, and Palestine is freed from the anti-Zionist policy of its enemies. The mandate for Palestine is given to Great Britain, and Zionism is forever rooted in the soil of the Holy Land.

As regards Allenby's very dangerous policy towards Feisal and the Arabs, I am thankful to say the Foreign Office saw its fallacies at once and have steadfastly refused to recognize either Feisal as King or indeed any of the declarations of the Syrian Congress.



So I have won, lost my appointment and got six months leave. I am more than satisfied; all the more because both Allenby and Congreve complimented me on my singleness of purpose and on the absolutely straight way I had conducted a very difficult situation. They were also kind enough to express their admiration for my determination to wreck my career out here on the rocks of my convictions. When I went to say goodbye to Allenby he was most charming, insisting on my staying to lunch. When I told him he had given me less notice than is given to a housemaid, he roared with laughter. We parted friends and spoke much about birds, in which he is greatly interested. My friend General Thwaites (Director of Military Intelligence), who happened to be touring out here, has wired to the War Office as follows: 'Meinertzhagen has loyally carried out the policy of H.M.G. and the present situation has occurred owing to the impossible situation in which he is placed by the present system. He is not in any way to blame.'

I was of course placed in an impossible position from the very outset. I was asked to represent the Foreign Office on Allenby's staff, keep our Government informed on Palestine and ensure that the policy of H.M.G. was carried out. Such work is tantamount to that of a spy on Allenby's staff. Sooner or later there must have been a conflict of ideas between Allenby and myself and one of us would have to give in or go. Neither Allenby's nor my nature allow of giving in against our convictions, and as a Colonel runs but poor chance against a Field-Marshal of Allenby's calibre, my exit was inevitable from the outset. I have no complaint whatsoever. I have been treated well and justly by all and we have all parted great friends, with I think mutual respect. The future alone can tell whether Allenby or I were right. But the present must and will shortly adjudge Waters-Taylor as having been wrong, not so much in his ideas, but in the methods he employed to convince others and the means he employed to gain his own ends in opposition to the policy of H.M.G.

I shall not say much more about Zionism. I appear to have done nothing but write on this absorbing subject for the last eighteen months, and I now have but little more to say, except that I have the greatest belief in its success and in its benefits to the world. I believe it to be a world force which will outlive its





lawless cousin—Bolshevism—and I believe that Zionism will become a model for all communities on which to build a healthy prosperous State, immune from wars and civil strife.

Zionism need not waste its thanks on British Officials out here. They have all worked against it, hoping to crush it at its birth. I was sent out by the Foreign Office on this very account and found on my arrival that every man's hand was working against Zionism, some openly, others clandestinely. I in consequence found a certain amount of hostility towards myself. I had no sympathy or help from anyone. Very naturally I was a nuisance to the General Staff because I opposed them vigorously whenever I detected their ill-concealed attacks on Zionism. Wavell, Bols and Congreve, each in turn tried to abolish my appointment at dates varying from three weeks after my arrival in the country to as late as last April. But I was determined not to go until I had overthrown the machinery which was working against Zionism. That done, I retire contented. But it has been most unpleasant work, entailing fighting my own colleagues and my own religion on behalf of the Jew; and very naturally all sorts of accusations have been levelled at my head—that I am in the pay of the Jews, that I am a Jew, etc. etc. And small thanks have I had from the Foreign Office whose policy I upheld against such opposition, or from the Jews whose cause I fought for. Not that I want the gratitude of any Government Office or that I hanker after the thanks of the Jew; but having possibly wrecked one's future in order to uphold my Government's policy, having had one's suggestions adopted and having had my action endorsed by the Foreign Office, I feel it is rather unkind to just discard me like so much useless baggage. But the world is large and I can live with or without the leave of Jew or Government Office.

I at once asked for six months leave and went off to Crete where I could get away from people for a spell and study birds. I travelled on a small Greek boat.

I record:

6.VI.1920. *Candia, Crete*

I arrived at Candia this morning after one of the most un-





comfortable voyages I have ever experienced. The ship was so crowded with Greeks that sitting room was a luxury; and it was merciful in some ways that a slight sea drove many down below, but before they left they were inconsiderate enough to drench the deck with vomit. Most passengers comprised whole families with large litters of children. No place was safe from the results of sea-sickness. I pitched my camp bed on deck as no cabins were available. Families were travelling with all their possessions, including livestock. An unfortunate calf and turkey, which a Greek woman had tied to my bed for security, gave me a restless night. And to add to the pleasures of the voyage, every nook and cranny held bugs of enormous size and voracious appetites. Most of the Greek women were veritable mountains of humanity, whole continents of unsteady flesh and to watch some of them being ill was like the convulsions of a mountain range when heaved by volcanic eruption.

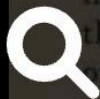
On landing at Candia I was met by Mr Zacharion who saw me through the Customs who eyed my kit including guns and ammunition with the greed of vultures. But Zacharion explained that I was a distinguished British Officer (I was still in uniform as I had no mufti) and they let me through at once.

On arrival in Crete I hired mules and made for the top of Mount Ida where I knew I should find peace, silence, solitude and space. I was warned of brigands above the tree line and especially of one George Nikolokakis. We met and he greeted me as a brother officer for he had fought the Germans in the Greek Army. He reminded me of Falstaff; we held long conversations, he in Greek and I in English, neither understanding the other; when he spoke he roared, frequently slapping me on the back with such force as to send me spinning; his handshake I anticipated with such violence that he winced. My mule man who speaks a little English told me that Nikolokakis is the chief brigand of Mount Ida, the King of the Shepherds, a notorious robber, the bogey of the Cretan Police and the idol of the shepherds of Mount Ida. Nikolokakis asked me if I was married and roared with laughter when I said No. He said he had nine children and more to come.

23.vi.1920. Crete

Alas, my trip to Crete will be sadly cut short. When I was at





Gergere on the 19th instant, a Cretan policeman delivered me a message which he had received by telephone from Candia, to the effect that the British Vice-Consul wished me to return at once. Now this worthy fellow is a Greek, and I have no intention of acting on such vague instructions from a Greek. So I replied as follows: 'Please give reason for your wishing me to return. If message originated from Egypt, wire me when next Lloyd steamer leaves Candia for Alexandria.' In reply to this on the 22nd instant I received the following, which George translated as follows: 'You must return at once as ship leaves on Monday.' Now as I received the message on the Sunday it was clear that I could not catch a ship at Candia on the Monday, and as the boats run fortnightly, I need not be back on the coast till July 5th. I was afraid something would occur necessitating my recall. It is annoying that one cannot be left in peace to enjoy one's overdue leave. The youth who delivered the last message to me is a native of Kamares, called George Avgyanakis. He is a cheery boy and knows these hills well, so I have persuaded him to stop on with me. I found he was particularly fond of sugared almonds, and it was only after eating quite half a pound that he decided to come along.

8.VII.1920. *Cairo*

On reporting to G.H.Q. in Cairo, I find that the reason for my recall from Crete is that the Foreign Office want me in London, so I sail for England about the 15th. It is a pity that G.H.Q. knowing I was wanted in London, did not let me know to that effect in Crete, for I could have gone home direct and should have been in London by now. The present B.G.G.S. at G.H.Q., though well meaning and quite a nice man, is terrified of doing the wrong thing and lacks initiative. His very correctness is his curse, his politeness is almost offensive and he shuns responsibility as priests avoid the Devil (or do they?). His action has cost me about £100 and has wasted over a month in time.

11.VII.1920. *Cairo*

Great changes have occurred during my absence. Herbert Samuel is installed as the first High Commissioner of Palestine, Bols is dethroned and sent home and Waters-Taylor has received





his demission and is now in Cairo looking for a job. He talks big about what he is going to do when he gets home, but he will get little sympathy from either the Foreign Office or the War Office. So my advice was acted on in a more thorough manner than I ever dared anticipate, and Zionism has got its chance.

When Samuel took over from Bols they met on the railway platform in Jerusalem; the taking over was simple. Bols handed Samuel a slip of paper on which was written 'Received, one Palestine in good order'; Samuel signed it, but added 'E.&O.E.' Bols had to ask Samuel the meaning of those letters; errors and omissions excepted.

19.VII.1920. *Port Said*

After many delays, owing to the lack of shipping accommodation, I arrived here on the 17th instant, expecting to embark on the 18th. I am now told that the ship has not yet arrived at Suez, where she is due on the 19th. Such mistakes on the part of G.H.Q. are annoying and expensive. Port Said is quite one of the worst places in the world at which to wait for a ship in the middle of the hot weather.

I sailed from Port Said for Southampton on July 21st on the S.S. Wahehe, one of the recently surrendered German merchantmen, and now acquired by the Shaw, Savile and Albion Line. After an uneventful journey we disembarked at Southampton on August 1st and I came straight through to London.

6.VIII.1920. *London*

Called at the Foreign Office. They have recalled me as they wish me to take charge of the Palestine Section of the Middle East Department. This I have refused to do and have instead asked for six months' leave. I have not had leave since 1912, and I shall go on strike if it is refused. One cannot go on working indefinitely. Also I look with horror on working in London. Neither does the Foreign Office atmosphere attract me. They tell me I am missing a great opportunity of 'gaining a footing' in an important Government Office. I have rather a horror of gaining a footing in any government office.





On examining the Foreign Office and War Office telegrams which followed after my last and naughty despatch to Curzon, I find that both offices had been quite loyal to me, more especially the F.O. I also appreciate that I was recalled as any other solution would have meant a rupture with Allenby. I naturally accept such treatment without comment. Neither do I regret the action I took in exposing Allenby's Military Administration in Palestine and in causing the removal of Bols and Waters-Taylor, and in installing Herbert Samuel. But what pleases me most is that I still remain friends with Allenby and Congreve, and have been congratulated by both the Foreign Office and the War Office on the way I handled the whole question of Zionism.

29.I.1921. *London*

On January 8th I dined with Freddie Guest at the Embassy Club in Bond Street. Winston Churchill was there. He bombarded me with questions about the Middle East and East Africa. He tells me we must quit Mesopotamia unless we reduce our expenditure to some more reasonable figure. The present cost is some 20 millions a year and this must be reduced to about 5 or 6 millions, to which I agreed. Winston asked me if I wished to go to Japan as Military Attaché, to which I replied in the affirmative. He thereupon told me that up till now he had strongly recommended it but that now he was moving from the War Office to the Colonial Office where he was initiating a Middle East Department, he wished me to serve in it in some capacity. He seems to think I should be of more use in the M.E. Department than in Tokyo. That may or may not be so, but I want to go to Japan and I told him so. He then told me he had definitely cancelled my appointment and would apply for my services under him in the Colonial Office. But as soon as Winston leaves the War Office I shall again try to get to Japan for I do not fancy being shut up in the Colonial Office year after year.

On January 10th, I found myself on an Adjutant-General's Committee at the Office, to report on a means whereby we could hold Mesopotamia on considerably reduced funds. The War Office view is untenable. They insist on the retention of Mesopotamia and yet insist on our retaining our present





expensive garrison. They have adopted the line that we cannot evacuate the country and cannot reduce expenditure. I explained that Parliament would not vote the money and that if they persisted in their view, evacuation would be inevitable. In their present mood the public will not listen to 'imperial or military necessities'. I thought our garrison in Mesopotamia was extravagant and could be reduced. Eventually we could not agree and I refused to sign their report, but instead put in a minority report with Hugh Trenchard, submitting a scheme for the retention of the country at an annual expenditure of about six million.

28.II.1921. *London*

Yesterday I received the following communication from General P. de B. Radcliffe (Director of Military Operations at the War Office). After congratulating me on my forthcoming marriage, he goes on:

'Had you thus been not occupied, Winston wanted you to come out with him to Egypt next week, when he is going to have a "pow-wow" with Percy Cox, Haldane, Samuel, Reading, etc., on Middle Eastern affairs . . . Winston hankers after getting you loaned to him for a couple of months with a view to permanent employment under the new Middle East Department more especially in regard to the raising of the new gendarmerie or local forces that are to be formed.

'From every point of view I hope you will take this on if you possibly can, as it will mean much to the C.I.G.S. and all of the General Staff here to have a man they know and have confidence in in that position—as unless we do get some such man, we shall always be nervous as to what the new Department may be at. I believe from your personal point of view it would be a very good thing and mean an assured career. Winston is a good man to serve and you will be well looked after by him.

'So do think it over and, as I shall be away, let the D.S.D. or D.M.I. know what you think.

'If by any chance you felt like spending your honeymoon in Egypt it would be most happy. The conference will last from about the 10th to the 24th I expect, after which Winston will make a trip up to Palestine and I go to Constantinople.





I expect they would fix you up a passage all right.'

It is difficult to refuse an appointment, when an offer is made on the above lines. Annie is not over anxious to go to Japan, so I shall not press that any more, though the War Office tell me that they think I could get there if I persisted. Then the D.M.I. only a few days ago offered me the head of the Secret Intelligence in Ireland, but advised me not to take it now that I was to be married. Annie would also hate that, and so should I, as I could not take her with me. I have already begged the War Office to send me back to a battalion, and now comes this letter. Both Annie and I hate London, and I shall detest working in the Colonial Office, but I fear I can scarcely refuse. Annie moreover thinks I should accept the offer.

So to-day I went to the Colonial Office and had an interview with Winston Churchill. He told me that it was wicked of me to think of going to Japan and cut adrift from the Near East after all I had learned of that region, and he thought my duty was to work where I could be most useful. He therefore wanted me to come into the new Middle East Department as Military Adviser and Inspector-General of local troops in Palestine, Aden and Mesopotamia. Meanwhile he wished me to go to Cairo with him for the coming conference. I explained to him that I had arranged to get married on the very day he sails, and I offered to start the next day, but he at once said that I had better remain in England till he returned from Cairo as it was not fair to drag me and my wife across Europe the day after our marriage. So I am to see Winston again when he returns from Cairo in April. Meanwhile I am still on leave.

26.IV.1921. *London*

Winston Churchill sent for me today and it is now arranged that I commence work in the Colonial Office on May 9th. I shall not be sorry to be back at work though I should have preferred being somewhere out of England.

John Shuckburgh was head of the Middle East Department; he is seconded from the India Office, and was saturated with hebra-phobia. Hubert Young, one of Lawrence's young men, Indian Army and later Governor of Trinidad, was second in command;





I liked Hubert, he was a scholar and a first-rate office man; then there was Clauson, a typical Civil Servant; Vernon of the Treasury in charge of finance, Lawrence as Arab Adviser and myself as Military Adviser. I was most fortunate in having my old friend Freddie Guest as Secretary of Air and Hugh Trenchard, another old friend, as Chief of the Air Staff; I had unbounded admiration for Hugh Trenchard, the architect of British supremacy in the air; our friendship was a great help in our work. And at the War Office Henry Wilson was C.I.G.S., an old friend from Paris days. When I saw him just before entering the Colonial Office, he warned me 'You've got to keep Winston on the rails; he might do anything stupid and his military judgment is almost always at fault; he thinks he's the Duke of Marlborough; any trouble, come along to me; I know how to manage him.'





CHAPTER IV

Colonial Office

27.iv.1921. *Tring*

When in the Colonial Office I heard that Herbert Samuel had appointed Haj Amin al Husseini as Mufti of Jerusalem. His predecessor died last February. I had trouble with the man when I was in Jerusalem for with the connivance of Ronald Storrs and Waters-Taylor he was conducting violent anti-Zionist propaganda and during the Easter riots of 1920 he delivered incendiary speeches not only against the Jews but against the British, fled to Transjordan and was sentenced during his absence to ten years imprisonment, but later returned to Jerusalem on receiving an amnesty; I had much documentary evidence against Storrs and Waters-Taylor proving up to the hilt that he was receiving encouragement from these two highly placed officials, but Allenby declined to use it. And now he is in a position where he can do untold harm to Zionism and to the British; he hates both Jews and British. His appointment is sheer madness. I am particularly annoyed about this as before I left Palestine in 1920, I left a memorandum with Samuel warning him of appointing the man when it was obvious his predecessor was in failing health and also warning him that Storrs would press for his appointment purely on the grounds of hostility to Zionism.

Haj Amin is a strong character and if given a chance could do great harm; he is very ambitious, quite unscrupulous and grossly dishonest; sooner or later his appointment will be bitterly regretted by us. I spoke to Churchill about it today, but he did





not seem to be much interested and in any case said he could do nothing about it. I warned him without mincing words of the harm we must expect from such a scoundrel.

15.VI.1921. *London*

Churchill spoke this afternoon in the House of Commons on the Supplementary Estimates for the Middle East. He spoke well and his statement was well received on all sides. It was a marked success. The whole of the Middle East Department attended in the Prompter's Gallery to hear it.

The speech was an outline of policy. He commenced by outlining the engagements we had with the Arabs, French and Zionists, showing how he intended to reconcile these obligations with a policy whose ultimate aim was a reduction in expenditure. In Mesopotamia we would allow the Arabs to govern themselves, primarily under British advice. They would be free to choose their own ruler, and if they chose Feisal we should not object. We were committed to a Shereefian policy which entailed backing King Hussein and his family against all other claimants to kingship in Arabia or Mesopotamia. (This of course was the Lawrence influence.) He was raising local troops in Mesopotamia to replace Imperial troops.

A Desert Air Route was in process of being reconnoitred and this would lead to economy, for Mesopotamia could then be reinforced in twenty-four hours from Egypt or Palestine. Churchill then turned to Palestine and outlined the Zionist policy to which he was most sympathetic and from which he expected great results. But the whole policy depended on a satisfactory and early peace settlement with Turkey. This matter was fundamental to his whole policy. He admitted that there was the element of a gamble in his policy, but it had a good chance of success. The speech was received with much applause and was an evident success.

I was much struck by the ignorance and poor delivery of those speakers who followed Churchill. Winterton described the speech as a 'personal triumph', repeating in the second degree of oratory what Winston had said in the first degree. He brought nothing which threw light on the subject. Then spoke





that mountebank Townshend. After telling the House what a fine fellow he was, how much he had suffered in Mesopotamia and what a lot he knew of the country, he said he suspected the Arab and thought Percy Cox was unduly influenced by their attractions. He added nothing to the debate.

Josiah Wedgewood uttered a short and bitterly sarcastic speech, typical of the man. Then came the enthusiast Ormsby Gore, who gave us a lively eulogy on Zionism, claimed Winston's policy as his own and generally approved. Bob Cecil went clean off the rails and wasted the House's time by raking up past history and blaming the Government for their past sins in Palestine and Mesopotamia. Eustace Percy then delivered a short speech which I thought the best of them all. It was well delivered and to the point. Though he was pledged to cut down expenditure, he believed that our surest economy was to secure peace in the Middle East by means of adequate garrisons. After Harmsworth and Commander Kenworthy had made short obstructive speeches, the debate closed. I was not struck by the standard of either oratory, knowledge or delivery of our legislators.

21.VI.1921. *London*

The atmosphere in the Colonial Office is definitely hebraphobe, the worst offender being Shuckburgh who is head of the Middle East Department. Hubert Young and little Lawrence do their utmost to conceal their dislike and mistrust of the Jews but both strongly support the official pro-Arab policy of Whitehall and frown on the equally official policy based on the Balfour Declaration; the latter is the only policy I recognize.

I exploded on hearing that Churchill had severed Transjordan from Palestine in an interview in Jerusalem between him and Abdullah on March 27th this year. Apparently Abdullah was moving through Transjordan on his way to help Feisal's adherents in Damascus and make trouble for the French who turned Feisal out last year. Abdullah had to be placated and met Churchill in Jerusalem; Abdullah was placated at the expense of the Jewish National Home which embraces the whole of Biblical Palestine. Lawrence was of course with Churchill and influenced him. So Abdullah was made Emir of





Transjordan, was given a British adviser and a subsidy. Of course the man accepted at once. This reduces the Jewish National Home to one-third of Biblical Palestine. The Colonial Office and the Palestine Administration have now declared that the articles of the mandate relating to the Jewish Home are not applicable to Transjordan and that the severance of Transjordan from Palestine is in accordance with the terms of the McMahon pledge. This discovery was not made until it became necessary to appease an Arab Emir.

I told Shuckburgh I wished to see Churchill on the question; he said it would be no good as the matter was settled; so I rang up Eddy Marsh and told him I must see the S. of S. at once and down I went foaming at the mouth with anger and indignation. Churchill heard me out; I told him it was grossly unfair to the Jews, that it was yet another promise broken and that it was a most dishonest act, that the Balfour Declaration was being torn up by degrees and that the official policy of H.M.G. to establish a Home for the Jews in Biblical Palestine was being sabotaged; that I found the Middle East Department whose business it was to implement the Mandate, almost one hundred per cent hebraphobe and could not the duration of Abdullah's Emirate in Transjordan be of a temporary nature, say for seven years, and a guarantee given that Abdullah should never be given sovereign powers over what was in fact Jewish territory. Churchill listened and said he saw the force of my argument and would consider the question. He thought it was too late to alter but a time limit to Abdullah's Emirate in Transjordan might work.*

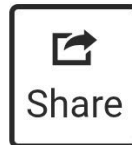
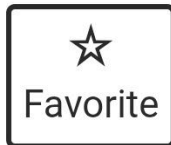
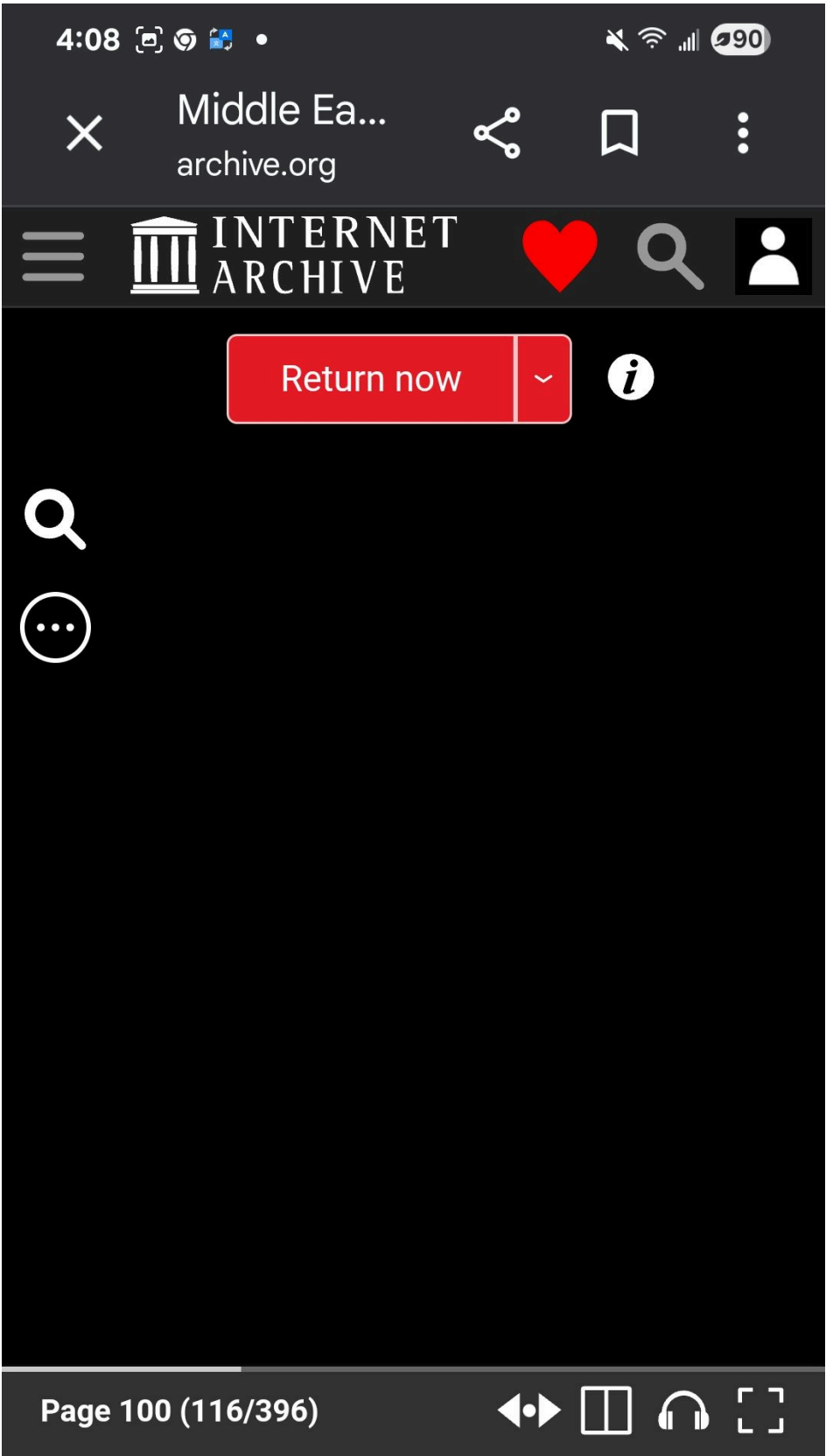
I'm thoroughly disgusted.

5.VII.1921. *London*

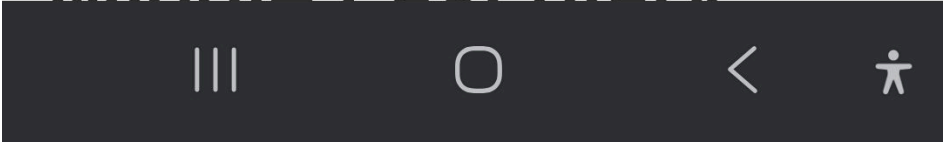
Weizmann returned from America yesterday where he has been conducting a campaign to pull the American Zionists together and collect funds. He has been completely successful on both accounts. He tells me that American opinion is almost

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Middle East diary





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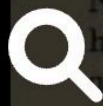
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solidly against this country and that America is building a Navy for a war which she believes to be inevitable between herself and Great Britain. The public believe it and in consequence suspect this country. They intend not to mix themselves up in European politics, and yet they are convinced that war with Great Britain is certain. I am glad to say that people in England do not contemplate such a catastrophe, but that does not prevent the feeling being a very real and dangerous one over the water. Our ambassador, Geddes, is of the same opinion as Weizmann and has warned the Prime Minister in the above sense.

Weizmann is worried about Zionism. He says the British Government is whittling down the Balfour Declaration, that immigration has been practically stopped, that the bulk of the British Officers in Palestine are not in sympathy with the movement and that the Zionists are not getting those concessions which are necessary for the establishment of the Home of the Jews in Palestine.

I agree that powerful forces are working against Zionism both in England and in Palestine. Both the Pope and the French have identified themselves with the anti-Zionist movement. The public are out of sympathy with the movement, partly because they are anti-semitic in temperament, partly because they think Palestine is going to be an expense to them, partly because they do not understand the motive of the movement, and lastly because they credit the numerous but potent arguments which are published in the British Press by anti-Zionists. They can see no future for Zionism and they cannot understand that the Jews could possibly make a success of anything by themselves.

Both in Palestine and in the Colonial Office great weakness has been manifest as a result of the recent anti-Jewish riots in Jaffa. The anti-Zionists have used the occasion to demonstrate the futility and unfairness of the movement and its inevitable failure. Others have been shy of the policy on account of their lack of courage to stand up to the threats of the Arab. Sir Herbert Samuel has been weak. The moment the Jaffa rioting broke out, he and his staff seem to have been hypnotized by the danger and everything was done to placate the Arab.





Immigration was stopped, elective assemblies were discussed, whereas what the Arab wanted was a good sound punishment for breaking the peace and killing Jews. The Arab is fast learning that he can intimidate a British Administration. Samuel has not been able to stand up to the solid block of anti-Zionist feeling among his military advisers and civil subordinates.

Surely it is time we stood by our policy and told the Arab we shall not be intimidated or tolerate interference. It is absurd to talk of injustice to the Arab and eviction of the original landowners. Those arguments show a complete lack of appreciation of the Zionist movement. Zionism will injure none, on the contrary it will benefit the whole community. It is not going to dispossess the Arab or interfere with his political or religious susceptibilities.

If His Majesty's Government do not feel strong enough to carry the policy through, let us shamefacedly admit it and forever retire from our present position of leader of moral force and opinion in the world.

Our main trouble is the apathy of our big men towards Zionism. Winston Churchill really does not care or know much about it. Balfour knows, and talks a lot of platitudes but his academic brain is unable to act in any practical way. Lloyd George has sporadic outbursts of keenness but fails to appreciate the value to us of Zionism or its moral advantages.

Lloyd George, though his past services have been of incalculable value to this country, is slowly being found out as an opportunist, and a very clever one at that. Though he was the main factor in the political arena during the war, he has gone far to lose the peace. He is a bad 'wobbler', has no defined policy beyond a hand to mouth existence. It is time a strong hand took the helm, and that our foreign relations, colonial and home policies were guided by some definite purpose. At present our foreign policy is guided by the French and by each event as it presents itself. Our colonial policy is framed on the 'carry-on-somehow' principle, and at home we suffer from the dictatorship of Lloyd George who ably settles each crisis as it occurs, but who does not attempt to avert them.





23.VII.1921. *London*



On the 20th instant I addressed a letter to General Smuts on the subject of Zionism I feel that the time has come when something must be done unless the whole fabric is to crumble and disintegrate. Our local administration in Palestine has failed to withstand not only Arab opinion, but local military advice. Both these potent factors are steadily working against Zionism and will, if they can, destroy it. Here in the Colonial Office, Winston is not too sympathetic and I suspect he regards it as a nuisance. In the Middle East Department I am alone in my views, but I am rapidly infusing into both Young and Shuckburgh some enthusiasm for the cause. Hence my effort to enlist the sympathy of General Smuts, and I wrote to him in the hopes that he might use his influence with the Prime Minister and Winston before they met Weizmann at lunch, which they did at A. J. Balfour's house on July 22nd. A short résumé of the conversation which ensued is interesting and is given below.

It interested me to see that both Lloyd George and Balfour realized that, when they subscribed to the Balfour Declaration, they had in mind a Jewish State as the ultimate aim of Zionism. Balfour's real motive was to remedy the unsatisfactory state of the Jews in the world. That he told me in Paris in 1919. Lloyd George was influenced entirely by sentiment and by his belief in the Old Testament. But Smuts tells me he was influenced, when he agreed to the declaration, by a desire to have the Jews on his side during the war. He appreciated their force in world politics, and thought that by making such a declaration he would enlist their help.

Notes on conversation held at Mr Balfour's house on July 22nd, 1921. Present: Mr Lloyd George, Mr A. J. Balfour, Mr Winston Churchill, Sir Maurice Hankey, Mr Edward Russell, Dr Weizmann.

DR W. reported on his visit to America, explained the situation there—Zionist, Jewish and general—and delivered message to British Government entrusted to him by Sir A. Geddes—L. G. very interested.





DR W. further explained the fight with the Anglo-Zionist Organization at the results of which L. G. expressed great satisfaction and said 'it is very creditable to you'.

A. J. B. 'You ought to tell the P.M. the position of Zionism at present.'

DR W. replied that while he was away in America 'building up', the whole position became vitiated by the developments of the situation in Palestine, e.g. Samuel's speech which was a negation of the Balfour Declaration.

W. C. (interrupting) 'Why?'

DR W. produced speech and read it, showing difference between it and the Declaration. The Declaration meant an ultimate Jewish majority—and this speech would never permit such a majority to eventuate.

W. C. demurred at this interpretation of the speech.

L. G. and A. J. B. both said that by the Declaration they always meant an eventual Jewish State.

DR W. continuing on position of Zionism, stoppage of emigration, non-granting of necessary concessions for development, lack of security for Jewish population, apropos of which he said 'We were gun-running and I can't allow it'.

W. C. (interrupting) 'We won't mind it, but don't speak of it.'

DR W. I would like it sanctioned. Is it agreed?

They all agreed to this.

W. C. took official view of the Administration showing the difficult situation that had arisen owing to the B. Declaration which was opposed by the Arabs, nine-tenths of the British officials on the spot, and some of the Jews in Palestine. He said it was a poor country in which destitute emigrants could not be dumped.

DR W. refuted this and spoke of 'representative Government Project'.

W. C. quoted Mesopotamia and Transjordan, to which

DR W. replied 'You will not convince me that self-government has been given to these two lands because you think it right, it has only been done because you must', to which L. G., A. J. B. and W. C. all agreed.

DR W. 'If you do the same thing with Palestine it means giving up Palestine—and that is what I want to know.'





L. G. to W. C. 'You mustn't give representative Government to Palestine.'

W. C. 'I might have to bring it before the Cabinet.' Of course questions affecting the Jewish National Home would be eliminated from the purview of the representative Government.

DR W. said this was impossible, and after a general refutation of arguments used, the talk became general for a while.

Then W. C. spoke of the Arab delegation and felt sure that a modus operandi could be worked out with them for the next three years.

DR W. doubted this, he regarded the Arabs as political blackmailers and could only talk with them when he knew the position of the British Government.

L. G. 'Frankly speaking, you want to know whether we are going to keep our pledges?'

DR W. 'Yes.' A. J. B. nodded.

L. G. 'You must do a lot of propaganda. Samuel is rather weak.'

DR W. 'The irony of the situation is that we are charged with being a burden on the British taxpayer which is nonsense', and he pointed out why, to which L. G. and A. J. B. agreed but not W. C.

DR W. pointed out absurdity of charge that we were taking the bread of the Arabs—L. G. laughed and asked how much money we had spent, and he was impressed by Dr W.'s answer. Further, Dr W. explained how difficult it was and how much this money represented for Zionists in present situation and insisted that everything depended on their having confidence.

W. C. 'Well, what would satisfy you in the way of immigration?'

DR W. 'I can't formulate it in numbers, but in conditions, e.g. the granting of the large Rutenberg concession'—he agreed to the severance of the Palestinian Army from H.Q. in Egypt—he looked upon the formation of a neutral police as a very good idea.

L. G. at the end of the conversation suggested that a part of the money should be set aside for the purpose of bribing the Arabs.





DR W. said that this was neither moral nor rational and the price is very heavy. It is easy to work with the Arab Nationalist leader 'on your backs, but that we won't do'. Now the presence of the British makes it difficult to enter into intimate relations with the Arabs.

All felt as Arab Delegation was coming a practical way out must be found.

L. G. to A. J. B. 'You ought to make a big speech again in the Albert Hall on Zionism.'

A. J. B. 'I will do it with pleasure.'

W. C. then left.

A. J. B. accompanied L. G. to his car talking over affairs and on his return said, 'It was a very satisfactory conversation and action will follow. You must write out your desiderata.'

DR W. 'You have the document', to which A. J. B. said he had read it and it seemed all could be accepted and some had already been agreed upon. Then he added 'It is all right, the P.M. is very keen on the affair, has a high regard for you, and understands your difficult position.'

2.VIII.1921. *London*

I discovered this morning that the Zionists have been indulging in extensive gun-running into Palestine and that some thirty machine-guns are about to enter the country. I therefore addressed a memorandum to Shuckburgh which caused a flutter.

The fact is that our recent lack of policy in Palestine has so disheartened the Zionists and has bred so much distrust in the British Administration that they are driven from sheer exasperation to adopt the methods of all exasperated communities. They are determined to get by force what they have been unable to attain by constitutional means. Hitherto, our Administration in Palestine has been over-awed by the Arab threat, has been unduly influenced by the military party in Cairo headed by Allenby and Congreve, and has proved itself hopelessly weak in applying the true meaning of the Balfour Declaration. They thought the Zionists would silently allow themselves to rot under such conditions.

The Middle East Department under Shuckburgh and Young





have interminably favoured the 'go slow' policy as they also have been influenced by the Arab threat, and have regarded the Zionists as a body which can be ignored or put off, as a wild beast without means of offence, and can be disregarded. My memorandum has shown them that the Zionists have claws and must be respected as a force with which to reckon. It has been pathetic to witness the sudden change in Young from an attitude of boredom and apathy to one of an ardent supporter of the Zionist cause. So this afternoon, striking whilst the iron was hot, I induced Young and Shuckburgh to adopt five principles for the better administration of Palestine and the furtherance of our Zionist policy. These principles are:

(a) The removal of all British Officials in Palestine who are out of sympathy with Zionism.

(b) The removal of the military command in Palestine from that of Egypt and removing the harmful influence now exercised by G.H.Q. over Sir Herbert Samuel.

(c) The resumption of Zionist Immigration in proportion to work available.

(d) The granting of concessions to the Zionists to be encouraged, and their position in Palestine to be that of the Most Favoured Nation.

(e) A closer liaison between the Zionist Commission and the Colonial Office on the one hand, and the High Commissioner on the other hand.

Having drafted a document on these lines, we took it to Winston who agreed. He too now realizes that we have played a wavering game in Palestine. Tomorrow I shall have the proposal printed as a Cabinet Paper and Winston has promised to lay it before the Cabinet at an early date.

So soon as the Cabinet pass our proposals, we shall be able to face Samuel with a new policy. If he feels he is unable to carry it out he must go. I fear he is one of those delightful men who are too charming and too great a gentleman to be really firm.

On August 2nd, 1921, I addressed a note on gun-running in Palestine to Shuckburgh, pointing out that the Jews are not afforded adequate protection in Palestine, that we are asking the Zionists to go slow which is much the same as asking them to





abandon their National Home, that the Balfour Declaration is still the policy of H.M.G. and means much more than allowing the Jews to settle in Palestine.

That in asking the Zionists to go slow we are appeasing the Arabs who realize that violence on their part is a check to Zionism.

That the Zionists are showing signs of losing confidence in H.M.G. and in consequence are inclined to take matters into their own hands.

We can deal with gun-running by ignoring it, by stopping it or by recognizing and legalizing it.

I recommended recognition and that it is the duty of H.M.G. to protect the Jew during the initial stages of Zionism.

4.VIII.1921. *London*

Met Smuts who spoke about Zionism, telling me he had tried to influence Winston on the lines of my letter, but that he had found Winston not too ready to be convinced. He said he agreed with my draft Cabinet Paper and that he thought Samuel hopelessly weak. We thought that if we alienated Jewish sympathy we should lose a great asset, and for that reason alone he would give the Zionists a large measure of control in Palestine. I told him I did not agree with that view. I favoured Zionism on account of the appalling state of the Jews throughout the world and because they had expressed a desire to re-form their nationality in their old home. I was also influenced by the stagnating effect of Arab influence which should not be allowed to control a country like Palestine. Moreover the Jews would give us a strong Imperial strategic point in Palestine, whereas Arab control in Palestine meant a source of weakness to the Empire, as they could never be trusted, and their national characteristics would effectively kill economic and industrial progress.

In August, 1921, I prepared a memorandum for Shuckburgh on the political situation in Palestine following Weizmann's representations to the Prime Minister and the presence of a Moslem-Christian Delegation in England.

I pointed out that serious disturbances had occurred in Jaffa resulting in attacks being made by Arabs on Jews. These





had taken the High Commissioner by surprise. Some of the ten thousand Jews who had recently entered Palestine were reported to be infected with communism. The High Commissioner, however, considered the recent disturbances to have been organized and premeditated. The High Commissioner therefore suspended Jewish immigration which might be resumed later under more stringent conditions. Sir Herbert Samuel, the High Commissioner, also defined the Balfour Declaration in language which watered that document down to such an extent as to make it meaningless. The Jews took great exception to this; the Moslems were encouraged and now demand the complete abandonment of the Zionist policy.

I regarded the first essential to be security. At present all troops in Palestine are under the orders of the G.O.C. who resides in Egypt. I advocated that our garrison in Palestine should be under the War Office and at the disposal of the High Commissioner to maintain order.

I also advocated that any members of the Palestine Administration who found themselves in disagreement with the declared policy of H.M.G. should be asked to resign.

Also that the Jewish colonies must be protected by the Administration against Arab attacks. We all know that the Jews are arming themselves illegally. This should now be recognized and their men treated as a police reserve, only to be used in face of unprovoked aggression.

26.IX.1921. *London*

Our policy in the Middle East is rapidly leading us into a position whence it will be difficult to withdraw. The Foreign Office favour a forward policy by Greece (enamoured by Venizelos) and at the same time encourage our retention of Mesopotamia. Greek forces have been drawn on towards Angora by Mustapha and have now suffered a severe defeat.

Our retention of Mesopotamia depends more than ever on Turkey; our local forces were intended to aid the civil power and not to resist invasion.

The problem resolves itself into this. We must make friends with the Turk and drop our pro-Greek policy; or we must run the risk of being driven out of Constantinople and Mosul, if not





Baghdad. Consistently, since 1919 in Paris, I have preached against Greek occupation of any part of Asia-Minor. We shall never get peace with Turkey so long as a single Greek soldier remains on Turkish territory.

With these thoughts in my mind I wrote yesterday a memorandum for Churchill, which has now been printed as a Cabinet paper and I trust something will be done to stabilize our position in the Middle East. But the Foreign Office are most difficult to move on this question as there is still a large block of influential men headed by my friend Eyre Crowe, who continue to back the Greek. Also, the Cabinet are averse to tackling new matter with the Irish question, the Unemployment crisis, the coming American conference and a host of other important issues confronting them.

16.xi.1921. *London*

Sir James Masterton Smith has now come into the Colonial Office as Permanent Under-Secretary of State. I have recently made another effort to persuade Winston to put an end to the uncertainty in Palestine. To my mind the present unsatisfactory state of Palestine is due entirely to doubt, not only in the minds of Jew and Arab, but of our own officials, regarding the meaning of Zionism and our determination to see it through. So long as this doubt exists the Arabs will continue to try to influence His Majesty's Government, will certainly promote violence, and will make a great effort to convince the world that the Zionist Policy is impossible. Winston is inclined to pay more attention to reconstituting the Palestine Garrison than to remedying the political situation, which is, I think, an unsound policy. If one is living on a volcano, it is better to try to remove the volcano than to make preparations to deal with it when it explodes.

Sir Herbert Samuel is also urging that a definite declaration on Zionism be made public. The moment seems propitious, as the Arab Delegation is now in London and is conducting abortive negotiations with both us and the Zionists, and we have recently been authorized by the President of the League of Nations to continue exercising the Draft Mandate in Palestine. This document clearly defines Zionism and the functions of the Zionist Commission. Basing my arguments on this, I drew up a





declaration for Winston, and tried to impress him with the desirability for its publication. I pointed out that the declaration was based on the only authoritative document, namely the Mandate, that the declaration must be made with full authority of the Cabinet and that it must be made public as soon as published.

Winston has flatly refused to have anything to do with it, referring to it all as a stupid proposition. He suggests no alternative beyond asking the Zionists to come to some amicable arrangement with the Arabs. In other words he is prepared to relegate Zionism to the same policy of drift which has characterized the policy of the Government since the Armistice.

Any arrangement between the Zionists and the Arabs has now been made impossible thanks to the attitude of the Arab Delegation in London.

At a lunch given on November 15th, at the Hotel Cecil, by the Arab Delegation, an opportunity was taken to state the Arab case, as against the Zionist policy. Lord Sydenham took the chair and spoke with much bitterness against Zionism. In the past much has been said and written regarding the attitude of British Officials towards the Zionist policy. It has been frequently suggested that British Officers, both civil and military, in Palestine, were working actively against Zionism. Such a suggestion requires no better confirmation than the composition of this luncheon party. There were present Lord Raglan, who has just vacated an important political post in Transjordan; General Costello, the late Commandant of the defunct Palestine Defence Force; General Palin, late G.O.C. troops in Palestine; Colonel Gabriel, late Financial Adviser to the Palestine Administration, and Colonel Waters-Taylor, late Chief of the Staff to the Chief Administrator in Palestine. It is scarcely surprising that the Zionists are suspicious and anxious when they see such a formidable array supporting the Arabs against the Government policy.

It is idle to plead that these officials were ignorant of the political significance of the luncheon party, or that their presence constituted anything less than active opposition to the Government's policy. It is abominable that Government officials should be permitted to lend their names in opposition to the policy of the Government they serve.





I am compelled to believe that obstruction to Zionism is no longer impelled by Arab ideas and Arab pressure. Obstruction to Zionism is now captained by British Officials, who have constituted themselves as advisers to the Arab delegation here in London, and who are working against Zionism in Palestine. It is political sabotage of the worst kind. At the present moment it is impossible for the Arab delegation to voice the views of the People of Palestine. They are instead voicing the view of the handful of ex-Palestine Officials in London. This makes negotiations between the Arab Delegation and the Zionists manifestly impossible.

And now I really do not know what to suggest. Winston does not care two pins, and does not want to be bothered about it. He is reconciled to a policy of drift. He is too wrapped up in Home Politics.

But I am still convinced that a declaration to both parties, based on the Draft Mandate, is the only solution for the present impasse. We have pressed this with all the force at our command and Winston will not act. I am getting tired of knocking my head against brick walls, which I have been doing for the last three years. At the Peace Conference in 1919 I advocated such a measure. I repeatedly advocated it when I was Chief Political Officer in Palestine and it has been as often refused. The Palin Commission, which enquired into the disturbances in Jerusalem at Easter, 1920, pointed out that I was to blame for not having issued such a declaration, in spite of the fact that I had been pressing for its publication for over a year previous to those disturbances. Now I confess I can suggest nothing.

19.XI.1921. *London*

I have drafted a Cabinet Paper 3328 under which we remove the War Office from Palestine in the same way as we have removed them from Iraq. The effect will be beneficial as it will remove the anti-Zionist influence of G.H.Q. at Cairo from Palestinian politics. The whole of the staff in Egypt, from Lord Allenby and General Congreve downwards, have consistently worked against Zionism and I shall be heartily glad to see that influence removed. It seems likely that we shall get an Irish settlement during the next few weeks, and we can then enlist our new White Gendarmerie from the Auxiliary Division (Black and





Tans). Moreover, I think a Gendarmerie on these lines will be cheaper and more efficient for the work we require of them, than highly-organized British battalions, which are saturated with anti-Zionist propaganda from Congreve and Allenby.

7.XII.1921. *London*

Yesterday evening Freddie Guest came over to see Winston and proceeded to read out to him a private letter from Sadleir Jackson in charge of the Levies in Mesopotamia; the letter comprised violent abuse of the whole administration in Mesopotamia from Sir Percy Cox downwards. Winston sent for me so that I could hear Jackson's letter, but I told him I had received an identical copy. He asked why I had not shown it to him. I replied that it was marked private and personal. Winston said he did not mind how he got his information so long as he got it. He then told me to draft a letter to Sir Percy Cox dealing with all the points raised in Jackson's letter. I protested that we should not take official notice of a private letter and also that its tone was most insubordinate. It was not fair to Cox or Haldane to take notice of insubordinate criticisms by a junior officer. Winston said such scruples did not worry him. So I then said 'All right, but if you insist, you will also hear what Sadleir Jackson says about the Air Force and about yourself.' So I drafted a reply to all Jackson's insubordinate private letters. Freddie Guest complained that I had no right to show Winston complaints about the Air Ministry and Winston complained that I had no right to show Freddie complaints about himself. And the matter ended by doing nothing, Winston telling me to write to Jackson telling him to write any complaints through Sir Percy Cox.

Freddie Guest and Hugh Trenchard dined with me this evening and we discussed Sadleir Jackson. They helped me draft a letter to him telling him these private letters on official subjects must stop; if sent in future they would be treated as official; that his own position would be seriously jeopardized if the practice continued. But S-J is a bit of a blusterer, apt to take the bit between his teeth and has not yet justified his appointment.

19.XII.1921. *London*

A conference in the Colonial Office to discuss future military





few weeks. All the officers and men are recruited from the disbanded Black and Tans; they are a magnificent lot of men and should acquit themselves well. They are commanded by Colonel McNeill.

14.vi.1922. *London*

It has been clear for some time that Weizmann has had knowledge of most secret telegrams and despatches to and from the Middle East Department. This is a very serious leakage. I am on the most intimate terms with Weizmann and have been most careful what I tell him, frequently refusing to discuss certain aspects of Zionism and he has quite understood my rather difficult situation.

I have discussed this matter with Shuckburgh. He is saturated with anti-semitism, loathes Zionism and the Jews and I have little doubt he suspects I am the source of the leakage. The National Home for the Jews is the main plank in our Middle East policy and a violent anti-semite is the worst person to be in charge of the department. In fact, in many ways Shuckburgh is responsible for deliberately sabotaging the National Home; and naturally he and I have come into conflict on that account. About a week ago he and I discussed this leakage and he begged me to be most careful in my dealings with Weizmann. I assured him that I was. But to-day Churchill sent for me and repeated more or less what Shuckburgh had said. He was most concerned about the leakage and I gathered that I was under suspicion. I told him that if he was not satisfied I would resign my position as Military Adviser. It is all very unpleasant. He said he did not wish me to go but again begged me to be most careful in my conversations with Weizmann. Churchill is clearly much upset about it and I feel I am under suspicion; I told him so and repeated my offer to resign which he refused to accept.

That there is leakage is certain and I suspect the source; a junior member of the department is a Jew whom I saw coming away from Weizmann's house in Addison Crescent some months ago; he has since disclaimed acquaintanceship with Weizmann.

I dislike this splitting up of the Middle East into a multitude





of little Arab States each under its little king. It does not lead to stability. More than ever I resent the handing over of Transjordan, which is an integral part of Palestine, to an Arab ruler. Churchill is responsible for this grave error. It deprives the Jewish National Home of one of the best parts of Palestine and is bound to lead to trouble. The French are not going to last long in Syria and then we shall have yet another Arab State north of Palestine and the Jews will be entirely encircled by bitter enemies, which places them in a precarious position. I trust I live to see an Independent Jewish State in Palestine; their survival will be precarious surrounded by enemies; but the Jews are good fighters.

20.VI.1922. *London*

Churchill sent for me to-day; I found little Lawrence with him, grinning from ear to ear and clearly very pleased with himself. Winston was also in affable mood. He told me the subject under discussion was security in Transjordan and Iraq and the ability of Feisal and Abdullah to maintain control when, as is inevitable, our advisers and troops are withdrawn. I asked if the withdrawal of British advisers and troops was contemplated, as, if so, it was news to me. I first pointed out that Iraq and Transjordan were two different problems. The former might get self-government in the next ten years and might prove to be the best of the Arab States as the Iraqis were progressive and had oil. But their king was a stranger, a Hashemite, one of Lawrence's inventions and had no claim to Iraq. We only put him there because the French turned him out of Damascus and we did not know what to do with him. Sooner or later the Iraqis will get rid of him. And as for Abdullah, another upstart placed there by Lawrence and given a kingdom at the expense of Palestine. Transjordan is part of Biblical Palestine which had been promised to the Jews. Lawrence exploded—Transjordan was Arab territory and had nothing to do with Palestine. I pointed out that both Transjordan and Iraq would drive their little Hashemite kings out, when they felt strong enough to do it. You cannot foist foreigners on countries as kings. Winston pointed out that William the Conqueror was a Norman and George the First was a German. 'True,' I said, 'but they were





not Arabs, nor were they foisted on to Britain, the one coming as a conqueror, the other as the nearest in royal descent.'

I reverted to Transjordan and urged that Abdullah's tenure should cease; that eventually the Jews would attain sovereignty in Palestine and I did not wish them to be surrounded on all sides by hostile Arabs; moreover, as the Jewish population increased, they would require more land. 'At the expense of the Arab,' said Lawrence. 'No,' I said. 'There are thousands of acres in Transjordan lying fallow and unoccupied owing to Arab laziness.'

Winston said he could do nothing about Transjordan and that Abdullah had come to stay. Grins from Lawrence. I said, 'He'll stay until a bullet gets him'. Silence. Then Winston—to me—'You do not think that either Feisal or Abdullah can last if we withdraw support?' I said I was sure they could not last as they were upstarts from a decadent family and even the Arab worm might turn. 'Well,' said Winston, 'we've got to try.'

5.VII.1922. *London*

On June 22nd, there was a debate in the House of Lords on the subject of the Palestine Mandate, and by a majority of sixty Lords an adverse vote was recorded. It was remarkable that Balfour not only made his debut in the House of Lords on the same night, but he actually was fathering the Mandate. Such an adverse vote would appear rather alarming to Zionists, as it is an attempt to reverse the whole Zionist Policy, but in effect the result is nil. The power of the modern House of Lords is the power of an air bubble. It did, however, have a heartening effect on the Arabs, and as such has done harm. It was, of course, a purely artificial expression of opinion, and is at root an anti-Semite vote. There is at present a distinct anti-Semite wave passing through Great Britain, engineered by such self-seekers as Lord Northcliffe, Islington, Sydenham, assisted by Gabriel and his gang. The public have been fed on lies, deliberate lies, which sixty Lords have gulped down and credited.

Last night the Palestine Mandate came before the House of Commons, and a motion criticizing it and the Rutenberg concession was rejected by 292 to thirty-five votes. The House of





Commons have therefore directly reversed the House of Lords resolution by an overwhelming majority. No doubt is left by this vote of the House of Commons that in their Palestine Policy His Majesty's Government have the support of the country. Fortified by this we should not have much difficulty in getting the Palestine Mandate through the League of Nations. Winston made an amusing and clever speech, in fact it was a gala debate. True, there was no oratory, no statesmanship, but it was most interesting and amusing.

22.VII.1922. *London*

To-day is a great day for the Zionists. The Palestine Mandate was passed by the League of Nations sitting in St James's Palace. Weizmann and his wife asked Annie and me to celebrate the event by dining with them at the Carlton. M. Rappard, the Swiss Secretary to the League, was also there, and a Miss Anderson, an American journalist who was rather a puzzle to us. She is one of those persons who is either very deep or very shallow. I suspect the latter.

Though the Mandate was passed to-day, it has been no easy task. At the Meeting of the League on July 19th, the Italian representative refused to agree to a discussion of the terms of the French Mandate for Syria, until his government had obtained satisfactory assurances from the French regarding certain Italian interests as affected by the Mandate. The result was to prevent a discussion of the Palestine Mandate, the treatment of which we had agreed with the French to link with that of the Syrian Mandate for the purposes of the present meeting.

French representatives strongly opposed the Italian proposal, pointing out that the main provisions of the draft Mandate for Syria had been before the League for over a year, and even the final text had been communicated to the Italians in June last. It was only at the eleventh hour that assurances and safeguards for Italian interests were demanded.

The British section strongly supported the French complaint, pointing out the long delays which had occurred in the treatment of the Mandates by the Council and which had already aroused protest at the Assembly. We emphasized the bad effect which the Italian attitude and the reasons for it would have





on public opinion when the matter was argued at a public session of the Council upon which we should certainly have to insist if further discussions of the Syrian and Palestine Mandates were to be postponed from the present session.

All the other members of the Council supported our and the French points of view. The Japanese representative suggested that the Italian Government might follow the precedent set by Japan when a similar difficulty occurred between the British and Japanese Governments in connection with the 'C' Mandates, and agree to withdraw their veto, provided it was agreed that the points at issue between the French and Italians should be settled independently by direct negotiation as soon as possible.

Finally the Italian representative undertook to cable to Rome the views expressed by the other members of the Council and enquire whether his Government could not modify their attitude sufficiently to permit the discussion and approval of both Mandates at the present session.

We shall never know what the Italian representative telegraphed to Rome or what was the reply, but on Saturday last the Italians withdrew their objections and the Mandate was passed on the following Monday.

I am more pleased than I can say at the passing of the Mandate. It will once and for all convince the Arabs and their English friends that the Zionist policy has come to stay and that all their obstruction has been of no avail.

Giving the Jews the opportunity to build their national home in Palestine was the wisest and most constructive act of statesmanship resulting from the First World War; it was also a first-class example of the principle of self-determination and democratic government; and yet President Wilson refused approval of the Balfour Declaration as his country was not at war with Turkey; in fact Wilson went further in refusing to make decisions in the Middle East until its inhabitants had been consulted; this was a typical unrealistic attitude for there was no means of consulting the peoples of the Middle East; and after all, we were dealing with a conquered Turkey whose hold on the Middle East was very loose and where the inhabitants were largely





literate and contributed nothing towards winning the war.



25.VII.1922. *London*

Yesterday I could not resist the temptation of writing to congratulate Balfour on having piloted the Mandate through the League of Nations. I wrote as follows :



Dear Lord Balfour,

I shall never forget the excellent advice you gave me in Paris in July 1919, when I was on the eve of departure for Palestine as Chief Political Officer. You then foretold the great difficulties which we have since experienced. My appointment in Palestine automatically ceased with the substitution of a Civil Administration under Sir Herbert Samuel for the old military regime. Since then I have been working as Military Adviser to the Middle East Department of the Colonial Office.

I hope you will permit me to congratulate you on the passage of the Palestine Mandate through the League of Nations. I believe it marks the end of the final phase of obstruction which Zionism has experienced in this country and in Palestine. In any case the policy now receives for the first time a fair chance. To all of us who from outside have regarded the Zionist policy with enthusiasm, the step is one for which we are all sincerely grateful and it is to you that much of our gratitude should be expressed.

I cannot help now feeling more confident that the unsatisfactory state of the Jews of the world is nearing a solution. I believe that not only will Palestine itself develop into a healthy, contented and strong corner of our Commonwealth, but that the Jews of the world will for ever be grateful to this country for her support and to you in particular for your part in the famous declaration and for the successful pilotage of the Mandate through the League of Nations. I believe that Jewish gratitude will prove to be the greatest of these assets.

I am etc.,

R.M.

24.VII.1922.

5.X.1922. *Venice*

Since the Turk last month drove the Greeks into the sea at





Smyrna, the Near East has presented a series of crises which at any moment might have engulfed Britain in a disastrous war with Turkey with incalculable consequences. Our troops are in occupation of the Asiatic shore of the Bosphorus and Dardanelles; the victorious Kemalist army has entered the neutral zone establishing itself as a direct threat to peace. Kemal has thrown down the gauntlet to Britain and we have refused to take up the challenge, contenting ourselves with holding our ground. At the outset our position was hopelessly weak, for we had but four battalions at Chanak. We now have eight and shall have twelve in a few days time. Our fleet stands by, a moral menace to the Turk but of little real value. Kemal, consistently refusing to withdraw from the neutral zone, at last shows signs of doing so, and has consented to a conference at Mudanie, where our first demand has been Turkish respect for the neutral zone. The Turkish demand is for the literal application of the National Pact involving the cession to Turkey of Eastern Thrace and the Mosul Vilayet.

This was the position when I left London. General Harrington, in command at Constantinople, has handled a difficult problem with consummate skill; it has invoked the admiration of soldiers and statesmen alike. Both he and his subordinates have shown the greatest restraint under most provoking conditions. Harrington in a telegram to the War Office says: 'The situation at Chanak is most difficult, as the Turkish cavalry ride up to our wire and make faces at our men.'

Under such exasperating conditions it was not surprising that Harrington resented our Cabinet's attitude. Unable to make up their minds to a definite policy, they went so far as to recommend operations which would have meant war. I am told that Winston is at the back of this crazy policy and really wished to fight the Turk. It was not surprising to read in one of Harrington's telegrams words which can be summarized as follows: 'For God's sake ask the Cabinet to make up their minds. If they want war, I can give it them in five minutes. We are all trying to avert war, but they appear to be encouraging us to bring it about.'

That the position has been grossly mishandled by the Cabinet is public knowledge. Since 1919, they have been warned of the





crisis which now faces them. They have never really appreciated the error of allowing the Greeks to occupy Smyrna nor have they yet realized the consequences. The conditions now existing were foretold time and again; the Cabinet was warned but took no heed. The Cabinet, Admiralty and Air Ministry now blame the War Office for not having taken military action when the threat became real, and for not having pointed out the danger. They forget that the danger existed since the Greeks went to Smyrna and that the War Office repeatedly warned them of the very circumstances which exercise their minds at this moment. The War Office accuse the Cabinet of wilfully provoking war, and Winston in particular for persisting in a policy which could only culminate in war. The Admiralty and Air Ministry think the War Office have failed in their duty by inaction, but are themselves prepared, in their valour of ignorance, to defend the Dardanelles by air and sea alone. Both Beatty and Trenchard have, at Cabinet meetings, claimed that they can keep the Straits open by naval and air action. Pray God, neither of them will be allowed to put such a hair-brained experiment into practice.

The Cabinet have also failed to realize the singleness of purpose and seriousness of the Kemalists, the excellence of their army and the first-class fighting qualities of the Turk. I pointed all this out to Curzon in 1919 and the War Office have repeatedly and accurately forecast events. The Cabinet must take full unshared blame for failure in coming to terms with Kemal. They have never made a serious effort to do so. They should long ago have insisted on a Greek withdrawal from Smyrna, they should have agreed to the evacuation of Constantinople on the ratification of the Treaty of Sevres and they should have realized that the Turk is a better man than the Greek who may be a better man than the Italian who may be a better man than the Egyptian. We shall now have to evacuate Constantinople in the face of a victorious Kemal, and may be forced to concentrate on Gallipoli as the sole guarantee for the safety of the Straits. There is one way, and only one way, of securing this important point and that is by working sincerely for peace with a friendly Turkey. Without a friendly Turkey, the Straits will never be free.





We certainly do not wish to fight; the country would not stand it. And I doubt if Turkey wishes to embark on a new war. She is bluffing and if we show a bold front she will neither invade Mesopotamia nor attack us in Constantinople. I have never seen government departments so rattled as they have been during the past few weeks, and all because they have all made hideous mistakes.

Leaving London in early October 1922 for a tour of inspection in Palestine and Mesopotamia, I reached Jerusalem on October 11th, where I stayed with the Samuels at Government House on the Mount of Olives.

17.X.1922. *Jerusalem*

I had a long talk with Sir Herbert Samuel this evening on Zionism. The policy is well-rooted now thanks largely to his wise administration, and in the absence of any unforeseen circumstance, it should commence to prosper. Samuel has been made the target of criticism from all parties, but has paid little heed to any. He told me that he does not mind being accused of being weak, so long as he can avoid disturbances in Palestine, political trials in the Courts and incidents, as so long as there is peace and security in the land Zionism will be able to take root.

I visited Transjordan where Philby is in political charge and Peake in military charge and on October 24th, I started off across the Syrian desert on my trip to Baghdad, travelling in four armoured cars kindly lent by the R.A.F. About half-way across I got into communication by wireless with R.A.F. headquarters at Amman and asked who had been appointed Colonial Secretary vice Churchill. The reply came back 'The Duke of Devonshire, thank God a gentleman.'

I record in my diary on October 29th:

So Winston is gone. For many reasons I am sorry. He has a brilliant brain and is as quick as lightning. He acts almost entirely by instinct and is usually right though easily led astray by some enthusiast. He was a hard master to serve, working like a Trojan himself and expecting equally hard work from his staff.





I do not know the Duke of Devonshire, but I should imagine he is full of sound common sense and rarely, if ever, evolves hair-brained schemes or is carried away by the narrow enthusiasm of local experts—a most dangerous type. I feel that his influence at the Colonial Office will be restful after the fulminations of Winston.

Gordon commands the R.A.F. Station at Amman and he should not have sent out such a message to be picked up throughout the Middle East. It will amuse the Turk and the French. (As a matter of fact, it was picked up by the Turk who asked for an explanation from our Embassy who in turn asked the Foreign Office in London to explain; but the origin was never traced.)

Gordon is a curious character, very abrupt and says what is in his mind. A good story is told of him when Hubert Young was about to fly from Amman to Baghdad. Hubert thought the plane was overloaded and said to Gordon 'Who, is responsible for the loading of machines, for it seems to me that this one has much too much in it.' 'Oh,' said Gordon, 'That is decided at the inquest.'

We reached Baghdad on November 2nd, and stayed at the Residency with Sir Percy and Lady Cox. I write:

After a hot bath and a hearty dinner I am now back in the squalor of civilization. How I yearn for the desert air with its invigorating qualities and the sense of silence, solitude and space; and how I detest the noise and smell of this city. It is only after a spell in pure desert that one realizes the stench and squalid discomfort of a town, especially an Arab town.

6.XI.1922. *Baghdad*

This morning I inspected those units of the Arab Army stationed in Baghdad, accompanied by Joyce and Nuri Said Pasha, the Chief of the General Staff. He is an old friend of mine and I had a good deal to do with him in Damascus in 1919. I like him though he is bit of a fire-brand. He is sound in many of his ideas and trustworthy though mistrusted out here, being reported as a revolutionary. He speaks his mind freely and such men are often misunderstood. He is a Turk or half-Turk





and the only man who gave Allenby a beating in the Palestine campaign.

Ja'afar Pasha is Minister of Defence. He is as big a fox as ever, disguising his dishonest and immoral nature behind his fat, jovial, schoolboy face. He is not half as able as Nuri nor has he half the energy. During the last war he fought with us and against us. He is a dangerous rogue.

This evening I dined at the 'palace' with Feisal, now King of Iraq. He seemed pleased to see me and we had a long talk about old times in Damascus. He still hates the French and everything to do with them, and I am convinced that he still harbours the dream of getting back to Damascus as king of an Arab Empire. He has only recently recovered from appendicitis. He is clearly discontented, thinks things in Iraq are going too slow and he does not hit it off with Percy Cox. Besides myself there were dining, Joyce, Nuri, Ja'afar, Jack Salmond (R.A.F.) and young Clayton.

12.XI.1922. *Baghdad*

Staying at the Residency. About midnight shots rang out from neighbouring gardens. I looked out to see what was happening and a bullet struck the wall beside me, so I hurriedly put out the light. As several more shots were fired and people commenced to shout and run, I thought it was at least an Arab rising, so I went out to the guard who were not in the least disturbed; they told me such wild firing often took place and was usually the result of police patrols being sniped which causes wild and indiscriminate firing by the latter. As I write the battle continues to rage. What a waste of ammunition.

13.XI.1922. *Baghdad*

I met Noel of Kurdish and Jungali fame; he is now hatching some wild scheme for the independence of Kurdistan. Like all other enthusiasts, he can be a dangerous man. He cares little for the consequences provided the Kurds get their independence under his guidance. No detail is thought out, there is no attempt at organization, and yet he has already persuaded Percy Cox of the merits of his dream. As soon as I heard of Noel's scheme which involved the loan of fifty men from the Levies and 100





from the Arab Army, I warned Cox and the Colonial Office of its dangers and it is to be held up pending a reply from London.

The scheme involved a march into Kurdistan (which is Turkish territory) with some 200 irregular troops, stirring up the Kurds against the Turk at Rowanduz, occupying Sulaimiyeh and then setting up a Kurdish Government. The madness of the idea astounded me. But Noel is an interesting study, typical of many Englishmen who espouse small peoples. He knows no fear, but this is because his valour is born of ignorance.

I have found the Iraq Levies in a bad state. The staff work at headquarters has been deplorable. Few records have been kept, little or no supervision has been exercised, discipline does not exist with the result that discontent is rife among both officers and men. The responsibility for this rests with Colonel Sadleir Jackson, their late Inspector-General, now awaiting Court Martial at Basra owing to a most unpleasant incident. Major Fox* of the Scots Guards apparently accused an Arab officer of insubordination and sentenced him without trial to a hundred lashes which were administered in his presence by two other British officers. The victim became unconscious after thirty or so lashes and Fox ordered him to be thrown into the river to restore consciousness, after which the balance of the lashes was to be administered. This brutal punishment having been completed, the man was kept in custody, deported and subsequently died. The doctors have been unable to assert that death was due to the flogging which has saved Fox from a trial for murder. This disgraceful affair never leaked out for five months during the whole of which period Sadleir Jackson must have been cognizant of Fox's conduct. When it was reported to me in London last July, I sent Fox back to Iraq to stand his trial and ordered the suspension of Sadleir Jackson. Fox is now being tried at Basra and Jackson is awaiting trial on a charge of not bringing the affair to notice.

* Major C. V. Fox had already had an adventurous career in the Sudan. In 1912 he chased two American elephant poachers over the frontier into the Congo and on coming up with them found one mortally wounded in his tent. Fox entered the tent unarmed and for an hour argued with the man who held a loaded pistol at his heart; the interview ended with the American slowly sinking into death, the pistol still pointing at Fox.





19.XI.1922. *Baghdad*

Had a long talk with Feisal who was interesting about the Turk. He thought they were bluffing about the abolition of the capitulations whilst genuinely desiring the restoration of the Mosul Vilayet. In this I disagree. I believe the truth to be the exact opposite. He told me that within six months they would be fighting among themselves as their economic conditions were rapidly disintegrating the whole country. This I doubt. There is no doubt that Feisal hates the Turk but it is hatred born of fear, not because he has any real grievance against them. And of course it must be remembered that if the Turk gets back Mosul, Feisal's position in Iraq becomes impossible. Feisal shares the general apprehension in Iraq that the Turk is on the point of invading his country. With this alarmist attitude I am in disagreement. The Turk has no intention of fighting us either here or in Europe and I doubt if he pays much real attention to the restoration of the Mosul Vilayet. So long as the Turk can settle with Greece and satisfy himself in Constantinople and Asia Minor, he is prepared to accept the loss of his non-Turkish possessions.

In late November, I went to Mosul where I inspected units of the Iraq Levies and Arab Army and then went on to Southern Kurdistan where I inspected Bentinck's Battalion of Assyrians—excellent material, smart, clean and quick but hitherto untrained. Whilst at Zakho I found myself close to the Turkish frontier so I wrote a polite letter to the Turkish commander of a frontier post, inviting myself to an unofficial visit. I received an official reply in writing that he had no permission to grant my request, but he sent a verbal message saying he would be delighted to see me.

11.XII.1922. *Zakho, Southern Kurdistan*

Leaving Zakho at dawn I rode through the town and, crossing the Khabur, made my way to Kukit and was met by a Turkish officer. He was most affable but we had to converse through an interpreter. He seemed delighted to see me; he asked about the Greeks, Constantinople, etc., as he seldom saw anyone. His post comprised twelve miserably-clad under-fed men and





He had no reserve behind him. He said all the best men were fighting the Greeks, that Turkey was tired out and that the last thing they wanted was war with us; all the rumours about the invasion of Iraq were deliberately put about.

Travelling via Erbil and Kirkuk, where I inspected a Levy Cavalry Regiment, I reached Khanikin on December 19th, and again inspected Levy Cavalry; then a short trip into Persia after birds and back to Baghdad in time for a cheerful Christmas with Sir Percy and Lady Cox. After Christmas I went slowly down to Basra inspecting local units as I went and spending a fortnight with the Marsh Arab, my host being Sheikh Salem. Then to Basra, Karachi, Bombay and Aden, arriving at the latter place in early February 1925. Local forces at Aden include what is known as the Yemen Infantry.

9.II.1925. *Aden*

I inspected the Yemen Infantry battalion before breakfast this morning. They are commanded by Colonel Lake and are quartered at Sheikh Othman some eight miles north of Aden; their strength is only 400, their military value is nil and I shall recommend their disbandment. They are all subjects of the Imam and when they go home on leave they are imprisoned by their ruler for a period, just to mark his displeasure at their accepting service under Britain.

From Aden I went to Egypt and back to Palestine where I stayed again with the Samuels in Jerusalem. Much inspection of Levies and Gendarmerie, followed by a short trip to Petra.

21.III.1925. *Beersheba*

In Palestine we have a British Gendarmerie some 700 strong and a Palestine Gendarmerie some 500 strong. The former was recently raised by Colonel McNeill from the Irish Black and Tans and the latter was raised by Major Bewsher from Jews, Arabs and Circassians in equal parts. This amalgamation cemented by esprit de corps is remarkable, including three political, religious and racial differences. The success is largely due to the personality and ability of Bewsher and the handful of British Officers who are in executive command of the force. Racial





and religious differences have been entirely obliterated, and one sees the various sects fraternizing in the barrack rooms and at mess. Jew and Arab will even dance together, play in the same amateur orchestra and sing together. Their military efficiency is of a high order and so pleased am I with their leadership and discipline that I am recommending that the entire regular British Garrison be withdrawn later this year, thereby relieving the British Taxpayer of something like half a million pounds a year.

I returned to England in April 1923, and resumed work at the Colonial Office.

3.v.1923. *London*

Since I left England last October, Lloyd George's Government has gone out and a Conservative Government is now in power, with the Duke of Devonshire at the Colonial Office. I went down to his room this morning to see him about my recent tour. He was interested about the Middle East, but supremely ignorant. I could not help noting the difference between dealing with him and Winston, the latter knowing the geographies of the countries well and understanding the problems. The Duke appeared sleepy but pleasant. I should say that his main assets are integrity and solid common sense with little originality or drive. At the Colonial Office he is certainly a rest after Winston, but I think I prefer the fulminations of the latter to the ducal yawns.

The Duke asked me about Zionism and Palestine, seeming to doubt the wisdom of our policy. Was it a policy which in fact we could carry out and were we being fair with the Arab? I gave him my views, pointing out that I thought Zionism was not only the sole hope for the regeneration of Palestine but a positive advantage to the British Empire. This brought us to the subject of the strategic advantages of Palestine which he said he could never appreciate. I dwelt at some length on this subject, but I could see I was having little effect on his own views. He pouted his lips and frowned at my arguments so I gave up. Whereupon he asked me to write him a memorandum on the subject and we could then thrash the question





out in front of the Committee of Imperial Defence.

7.VI.1923. *London*

The friction and jealousy between the War Office and the Air Ministry, which commenced when we got the latter to take over Iraq and Palestine, is now acute, the War Office wishing to abolish the Air Ministry as they regard all air forces as ancillary to ground forces. The Air Ministry attack the War Office by claiming that they do not appreciate the use of air power. The W.O. would be content to let the A.M. administer all air forces so long as their control in war was vested in the War Office. The Air Ministry are a young department and still have much to learn. Their methods are those of an amateur when directed to strategy; their senior officers, with few exceptions, lack training and experience. The best of them is Sir John Salmond commanding in Iraq. He is little more than a boy and vast though his experience may be in the air, he has little knowledge of ground warfare, as has been well exemplified by his recent escapade to Rowanduz and Sulimaniyah. Like all brave men he was favoured by luck, but it might have been a hideous disaster. The final disposition of his forces, placing a third in Sulimaniyah, a third in Rowanduz and a third in Baghdad, the two former entirely unsupported, so alarmed me that I got Hugh Trenchard to send him an urgent message ordering him to withdraw at once from Sulimaniyah. His occupation of this place was undertaken contrary to our orders and to my mind was a dangerous move. I lost confidence in him; I think it was done to satisfy ambition and I always mistrust ambitious men. But for all that Jack Salmond is a very charming creature, full of brains and a real live-wire. His real fault is not his fault. He has been pushed on too rapidly and though such a misfortune cannot ruin him, it has done him no good. His reputation has outrun his experience and it will be some years before his judgment can be tempered by sound military principles.

6.VII.1923. *London*

I have been working on a more comprehensive paper for the Cabinet regarding the strategic importance of Palestine. It



seems clear that sooner or later our position in Egypt will become impossible unless the Suez Canal is made an International Waterway under the control of an international commission. Egypt will never surrender her sovereignty of the Suez Canal except under pressure from the great powers and even if she did it would always be a festering sore in the Middle East. But she might allow us bases in perpetuity in Sinai and these, in conjunction with similar bases in Palestine, would guarantee the defence of the Canal which Egypt herself will never be strong enough to protect.

I have always regarded Palestine as the key to Middle East Defence. I therefore approached Weizmann last week with a view to ascertaining whether, when and if Palestine becomes a Jewish Sovereign State, Great Britain would be granted air, naval and military bases in Palestine in perpetuity. Moreover the Jews can be relied on to keep agreements, the Arabs can never be relied on. Weizmann asked for a few days to consider it and to-day I got his answer. He would welcome the idea and proposed Haifa as a Naval Base, large airfields in the neighbourhood of Gaza and Jaffa and military bases on the coast between Haifa and Gaza. This would give a Jewish State absolute security and would enable them to reduce the cost of their defence to a minimum. In fact it would relieve them of an intolerable burden for defence from the surrounding Arab States. But he agreed subject to the Jews being granted the whole of Biblical Palestine; this would involve a stand-up row with the Arabs, but that is bound to happen some day; why not now? Abdullah should be told that his Emirate is temporary and expires at his death. With British Bases in Palestine our position in the Middle East is secure for ever.

I told Shuckburgh about this and he is furious; says I had no right to approach Weizmann on the subject, that the proposition is fantastic, that the policy of H.M.G. is favourable to the Arabs, that the Balfour Declaration is too meaningless to mean anything, etc. etc. I said I would see Churchill about it and did so this afternoon. I think he was impressed but did not wish me to bring it up to the forthcoming Committee on Palestine as it would have a hostile reception. I asked if the Government still stood by the Balfour Declaration; he said it did but that things





must go slow for the moment as the Cabinet would never agree to a policy which would antagonize the Arabs. Appeasement again. We are backing the wrong horse and, my God, we shall suffer for it if and when another war is sprung on us.

At the end of July a petition signed by over eighty Members of Parliament was sent to the Cabinet Committee practically suggesting the abandonment of the Balfour Declaration on the grounds of injustice to the Arabs. I was thankful to say scant attention was paid to it. The petition was organized by Aubrey Herbert and Joynson-Hicks.

On July 6th, 1923, Gilbert Clayton sent a despatch to the Colonial Office, advocating a whittling down of the Zionist activities in Palestine, on the grounds that Arab opposition to Zionism is steadily increasing. This despatch was answered by Sir Herbert Samuel on July 18th, refuting the Arab complaint 'that the administrative policy of Palestine is heavily weighted by Zionist influence'. The Arab purpose is that Zionism shall be destroyed.

I wrote a private letter to Sir Herbert Samuel on July 18th, hoping there would be no whittling down of the Balfour Declaration, a policy which some members of the government desired. I deplored any attempt to make Zionism inoperative, which appeared to be the object of the Palestine Committee, which had recently sat in London. I believed this Committee regarded the Balfour Declaration as an unfortunate expression of policy and the Mandate as an awkward implement. I ended 'In an attempt to remedy what they consider wrong, the Palestine Committee are striking at the very heart of Zionism—some without intention to destroy but some with full intention to annihilate. When I consider the consequences of an attempt to further inflame the opposition to Zionism and to belittle the preference which the Mandate gives to the Jews in Palestine, I wonder at the great responsibility which your position has given you. The making or destruction of a great Nation on the chaotic ruin of centuries, the destinies of millions of as yet unborn Jewish children, and the predominance of Jewish culture not only in Palestine, but throughout the Middle East, are all at stake.'

Herbert Samuel was one of the best administrators which





mandated Palestine had. Being a Jew he naturally sympathized with the National Home, but on every occasion observed strict fairness, often slightly leaning against his own people. His was an extremely difficult position but was carried out with success. Nothing of major importance emerged from the Cabinet Committee; the Balfour Declaration remained unscathed and Samuel was encouraged to continue his most difficult policy of reconciling Zionist ambitions with Arab resentment encouraged by many of his own countrymen. Samuel was fortunate in having as his Chief Secretary Wyndham Deedes, a man of complete integrity and one of the purest Christians I have ever met. His essential character was saintliness and he had a genius for making those he met the better for it. By his own goodness and humility he would bring out the best in those he met. His concern for the Jewish Nation was based on a profound compassion for their sufferings and he regarded the establishment of a Sovereign Israel as their just reward.

By his wisdom and scrupulous impartiality he was, more than anyone, responsible for the survival of the Israeli baby which ran a serious risk of death at the hands of its godparents through over-nourishment or strangulation. The infant required very delicate handling during Samuel's Commissionership for many powerful hands were hoping and striving for its death. Many critics of Samuel's Commissionership in Palestine have referred to his weakness. I have done so myself. What I mistook for weakness was in reality a determination to be just and impartial.

A Cabinet Committee on Palestine sat from July 6th to July 27th, 1923, with the Duke of Devonshire in the Chair. Its terms of reference were to advise the Cabinet as to the policy to be adopted by the Government in regard to Palestine. The members were Lord Curzon, Lord Peel, Lord Derby, Leo Amery, Sam Hoare, Joynson-Hicks, Lord Novar, Lloyd-Greame and Worthington-Evans. I was present at all meetings. Herbert Samuel, home on leave, was bombarded with questions but made a great impression on the Committee whose general tenor was pro-Arab and anti-Jew. Gilbert Clayton acted for Sir Herbert during his absence from Palestine and in very bad taste, on July 6th, sent the despatch referred to above.





12.VII.1923. *London*

Today we had our meeting with the Committee of Imperial Defence on the subject of the strategic importance of Palestine. The matter before the Committee consisted of three memoranda, one prepared by myself on behalf of the Middle East Department and others by the War Office and Air Ministry. A short note by the Admiralty can scarcely be called even a memorandum. The War Office held the view—and correctly so—that we cannot afford to abandon the Suez Canal. I again introduced our claim to the sovereignty of Sinai east of the Rafa-Suez line, which would solve the whole question of the Canal, but nobody would listen; they'll regret it. But the Committee agreed that the Canal can best be defended from Sinai and that Palestine provided an important link in our air communications with India and the East.

What struck me most about these politicians and experts who composed the Committee, was their lack of knowledge about the subject they were discussing. Beatty did not even realize that Haifa was in Palestine. Derby and Joynson-Hicks had to be shown the location of Rafa and Aqaba; others thought the present Palestine frontier came west to the Suez Canal. It frightened me to think that the defence of our empire rested in the hands of men who do not know their subject.

My work at the Colonial Office terminated on March 31st, 1924, and I rejoined my regiment in Cologne after an absence of twelve years from regimental soldiering. My official connection with Zionism ceased but my interest in the Middle East and Zionism never flagged.





CHAPTER V

The Mandate

In late 1925, I was transferred to a battalion in India; I soon found out that I was completely out of touch with regimental soldiering, moreover I saw no prospect of another war in the immediate future so I took the advice of a distinguished soldier and lived a life which enabled me to follow my own hobby of natural history which covered a more important activity—political intelligence.

In early 1926, I resigned my commission and travelled through Kashmir to Ladak and Western Tibet. Though out of touch with Zionism I was still intensely interested in it.

1.IV.1925. *Kashmir*

To-day is the time fixed for the opening of the Jewish University in Jerusalem by Lord Balfour. I offered up a silent prayer that the University might sow the seeds of a political and national Zionism which would eventually dominate the Middle East from Sinai to Syria and east to Iraq or even further, constituting a strong healthy state and a cornerstone in the British Commonwealth. The Jewish Nation will, I am convinced, always be in closest sympathy with the British and should we ever have to go through the ordeal of another world struggle, they would help us to emerge with success. Palestine is the core of the Middle East, which is of first importance to any Nation in occupation. I prayed for the success of political and national Zionism for this reason and also because it will give nationhood and peace to a sore-afflicted race whose position in the world





for the last 2,000 years has been a disgrace to civilization. I pray God with all my soul that my dream of Zionism may come true, and that Jewish Culture may find its proper place in the world and an independent line of development. I rejoice in the fact that I have been allowed to assist in placing Zionism on a sound footing and that in a small way I have been able to remove obstacles which attempted to strangle it at birth.

3.III.1927. *London*

On March 1st I dined with Sir John and Lady Power at 32 Chesham Place, previous to a meeting of the Institute of International Affairs when Sir Herbert Samuel spoke on Zionism. Balfour, Martin Conway, Hogarth and Samuel were also at dinner.

Samuel's address was lucid and comprehensive but typically cautious, telling us little new. The discussion, in which I took part, was of a low standard, mainly emphasizing the material advantages which the Palestine Mandate gave to Great Britain. For we Englishmen there are two aspects of Zionism, the moral and the material. Material advantages are now obvious to most Englishmen, though a few years ago the public were painfully blind to them, a fact which is often lost sight of. These advantages will accrue to the British Empire automatically, now that Zionism has definitely taken root. But I think it is wrong to judge Zionism entirely from that viewpoint. Sooner would I regard Zionism as an ideal which it has been my country's fortune to establish. I would regard it as the fulfilment of a prophecy, as the rescuing of one of the world's greatest peoples from a position which was becoming intolerable and which was a disgrace to the civilized world. By establishing Zionism, Great Britain has paid a debt which the world owes to Jewry for its culture, its abilities and its influence in the world. It is also no small matter that Great Britain should have been given the Mandate for Palestine, a land of so many sacred associations for the whole of Europe.

Anti-Zionism seems to have died a natural death in this country, and this was natural considering the artificial nature of its opposition.

The stubborn, petty hostility to Israel was a marked feature





of many of our politicians and responsible ministers. It has been my bitter experience that arrogance and hebraphobia are the usual response to any mention of Israel or her problems.

11.XI.1927. *London*

Last night I attended a dinner at the Savoy Hotel, given by the Anglo-Palestinian Club to Lord Balfour on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the Balfour Declaration. Jimmy Rothschild was in the chair.

The after-dinner speeches were good. Lord Reading proposed the Mandatory Power in glowing rhetoric which was too bombastic to mean much and too crammed with platitudes to give his words the ring of true statesmanship. Ormsby Gore replied for the Government and spoke admirably. He was optimistic about the future of Zionism. He struck the right note when he said he thought that Palestine would not become the spiritual home only of the Jews but of the whole world. I believe this to be true. It is an irony that it should be given to the Jews, who crucified Christ, to build up for the world a spiritual home.

Sir Herbert Samuel spoke extremely well, as he always does, but with great caution. But he was optimistic. He dwelt on the importance of the most scrupulous justice in the administration of Palestine and the founding of the National Home, and paid a high and deserved tribute to the body of British Officials who had done their best for the cause in that country. I do not entirely agree with the deservedness of that tribute.

Weizmann, in proposing the health of Balfour, sounded many notes of warning, was inclined to be pessimistic and warned Jews of all countries that, but for support, the experiment was jeopardized. The old enthusiasm was on the wane and we were now down to hard work, facts and cash. He was right in saying that the Balfour Declaration does not give Palestine to the Jews, but gives them their opportunity. It is for the Jews to make the fullest use of this opportunity for which they have prayed and waited for 2,000 years. He spoke of the Mandatory Power's attitude and insisted that British Governments must make things easier for the Zionist Organization. This is most true. British Governments of the past have not always been





helpful and have rather left the Jews to work out their own salvation. The Jews, during the last decade, have borne a terrific and almost unbearable burden, and it is time that they were given more practical help and more than mere moral support and sympathy. They have proved to the world that the scheme is feasible and deep-rooted. They must have help. He quoted an amusing episode regarding the issue of the Balfour Declaration by the Cabinet in 1917. Mark Sykes was present at the Cabinet Meeting and on coming out after Balfour had been authorized to publish the Declaration, he found a host of anxious Jews awaiting the decision. 'Gentlemen,' he said, 'it is a boy.'

Balfour's speech was, as usual, academic and full of sound philosophy. It is surprising what an amount of philosophy that man can find in almost any subject. He regarded Zionism as an experiment, one of the greatest experiments that had ever been conceived. He was convinced that the experiment would succeed. During his recent visit to Palestine to open the Hebrew University, he was impressed by the fact that if left to themselves, Jew and Arabs could agree on everything. It was outside interference and propaganda which had in the past caused all the friction. Misunderstandings had now been removed. I believe the real cause of this to be that the handful of anti-semites who preached against Zionism and did so much harm from 1918 to 1924 have abandoned their poisonous efforts, partly from failure but mainly because of the futility and transparent dishonesty of their arguments.

Then Josiah Wedgwood proposed the health of the Jewish National Home, and at once brought the standard of oration down to the level of the tub-thumper. His platitudinal catch-phrases, his intense desire for cheap applause, his vulgar parliamentary delivery, disgusted me so that I left before he finished.

But I was much impressed by the dinner and by the sincerity and devotion which marked the speeches of those who preceded Wedgwood. There were 590 Jews present and some twenty or thirty gentiles. I wondered what would have been Christ's feelings had he been present and what his criticism would have been. I am convinced that he would have blessed the pro-





ceedings. To give back to the people who crucified him their heritage is surely a most Christian act.

I am as optimistic as ever about the future of Zionism and consider it will be judged to be the greatest constructive work which has emerged from the wreckage of the Great War, and long after the memories of that struggle have become dimmed by time, Zionism will stand out as a landmark of civilization and progress. Though the least spectacular outcome of the war, it will be with us for all time, long after many other post-war changes have been forgotten. Of all the post-war reparations, Zionism is the greatest in its attempt to repair the great wrong done to the Jews during the last 2,000 years.

1.IX.1929. *Wales*

The recent disturbances in Palestine prompted me to write to Uncle Sidney* on the 29th. As he now fills the post of Secretary of State for the Colonies, I hope he will try to remedy affairs. I know he is sympathetic to Zionism. I begin:

The recent disturbances in Palestine have caused me considerable anxiety, for it is clear from published official accounts that something is wrong in that unfortunate country.

I feel sure you must be overwhelmed by letters of protest and appeal and I only add to your burden as I feel I cannot refrain from helping a people so harassed and a movement so worthy as are the Jews and Zionism: and, having been sent out to Palestine in 1919 by the Foreign Office to watch over Zionism in its nursery stage, I feel that I have something approaching a right to be heard on a subject which is still very near my heart.

I am not concerned with the rights or wrongs of the dispute centred round the Wailing Wall. The present trouble lies much deeper. The Mufti's letter in *The Times* of 27 instant is a cruel, inhuman document, full of inaccuracies and typifies the Arab attitude toward the Jew of Palestine. It must be almost unique in modern history for the religious head of a community whose hands were still dripping with the blood of murder, to excuse his followers on the grounds of 'land-lordism', and without a single gesture of regret. The Mufti's

* My Uncle Sidney Webb.





latter is a fallacious red herring. But the Wailing Wall dispute and the mendacious historical claims advanced by the Mufti in support of his contention do not really matter. The Arabs were determined to have a bonfire and the Wailing Wall gave them a convenient spark.

The root of the whole trouble in Palestine, a fact I have repeatedly pointed out since 1919 when I was Chief Political Officer in that country, is a simple straightforward issue. You must forgive me if I put my case in words with which you are already familiar, but truth can bear repetition.

The Jews have been granted a home in their old country, after 2,000 years of deplorable exile. We have assumed trusteeship and have accepted the responsibility of assisting them in establishing themselves in their home. We have undertaken to see that they get fair play, and, as I read the Mandate, the Jews are placed in the position of 'most-favoured-nation' in Palestine, always provided that Arab civil and religious rights are not prejudiced.

There has never, to my knowledge, been a single instance of Zionist progress at the expense of Arab religious rights, though many instances have from time to time been trumped up by Arabs and supported by their British sympathizers, and it is this latter factor which is at the root of the evil in Palestine. It is no exaggeration to say that the very people who have undertaken to wean the Zionist child are those who have exerted themselves most to strangle it at birth.

British sympathy is with the Arab and not with the Jew, largely because Zionism, its objects and possibilities, are misunderstood, and because the Arab is surrounded by a halo of picturesque romance. The Arab, his wild, savage nature, his lack of intelligence, his backward state and his connection with the romantic desert will always appeal to the British character in preference to the hard-headed, hard-thinking, practical Jew, bristling with troublesome problems and determined to get that to which he has a right by treaty and covenant. The Arab has not been slow to appreciate this fact and take full advantage of it.

At Eastertide in 1920, riots occurred in Jerusalem. It was clear to me at the time that trouble was to be expected. I





warned the Administration. Adequate measures were not taken and many Jews lost their lives. The Administration failed to give protection to an unarmed community who found themselves assailed by a cruel, fanatical and armed rabble. The police proved untrustworthy. As a result of my report on these riots, the Military Administration was replaced by a Civil Government.

In Russia these outbursts are termed Pogroms, an ugly word when associated with a British Administration.

And now we have a repetition. An unarmed community in Palestine is known to be the object of political hatred and murderous attack. It has not been a conflict between Jew and Arab in which the Administration has had to intervene, a supposition which the London Press appears to support. It has been a deliberate, planned attack by an armed community on an unarmed community whose sole sin is availing themselves of sacred privileges granted them by covenant. We are bound by equally sacred obligations to protect that community. There is ample evidence to show that violence and murder were imminent some weeks back. To me, reading *The Times* in Yorkshire, the sequence of events was too obvious. In Palestine the warnings must have been writ large upon the wall. The Administration was in fact in possession of evidence showing that an outbreak was not only brewing but was almost inevitable.

There can be no question that the recent outbreak was preventable. Equally apparent was the lack of reliable force to deal with a serious situation. The Jew in Palestine has not received that measure of protection and sympathy to which he is entitled. The Arab would never risk trouble if he knew without a shadow of doubt that the subconscious sympathy of the bulk of the Palestine Administration was not behind him.

The Arab is often depicted as a fiery fanatic, prepared to die for a cause. The war inflated and burst that bubble. He is an admirable looter, a jackal among mortals, but quickly and surely understands authority and respects strength. If the Arab were convinced that Downing Street and every member of the Palestine Administration were determined to carry out government in the spirit of the Mandate, we should have perpetual peace in Palestine.





I do hope a full and impartial enquiry will be held, not on the causes of the outbreak, for these are well known, but on the responsibility of the Administration. Why were warnings heeded? Why was protection inadequate? Why did the Administration fail in its first duty, security?

The policy of removing the British Gendarmerie seems to have been an expensive and disastrous one.

Failure in Palestine will be a greater disaster than is apparent to most persons. Political and strategic issues of vital import are at stake. Do not let us lose perhaps the only constructive and decent heritage of the war through negligence, partiality and false economy.

Outside the Jewish religion, Zionism has few friends either in this country or in Palestine. Its main obstacle has been an insidious but effective lack of sympathy and understanding by officials in Palestine and Downing Street. We cannot hope to eradicate anti-semitism but we can hope to play the game by a people who have suffered so much and whom we are pledged to assist.

I need hardly say that if I can be of any service to you or your department either in this country or in Palestine, I should be only too willing to undertake anything you may suggest. You must forgive me for expressing myself so freely. I can only plead anxiety, an intense desire to see justice done to the Jew and our friendship and relationship.

So ends my letter.

4.x.1929. *London*

I had a long interview with Sidney Webb to-day at the Colonial Office. He seemed rather tired of Zionism, having been subjected to ceaseless bombardment of complaint and suggestion for the last few weeks. He told me what steps were being taken to enquire into the recent troubles. I tried to impress on him that the two essentials were, a friendly Administration and adequate security. Any commission of enquiry sent to Palestine could only be a sop to public opinion. We all know the causes of the trouble, we all know that the Administration is not sympathetic to Zionism and we all know that the Jews have been denied security. Sidney promised he would do his best to remedy





matters and appeared to realize the situation, but he struck me as being a tired man and particularly apathetic towards Zionism.

19.xi.1930. *London*

I reply to a letter to *The Times* by Lord Lloyd :

Sir,

Lord Lloyd's letter in your issue of to-day, while laudably urging a non-party examination or interpretation of the Palestine Mandate, touches on two aspects which cannot pass unchallenged.

It is inferred that the immigration of Jews into Palestine has given an impetus to Bolshevism in the Middle East. Palestine is not the 'springboard of Bolshevism in the East', and there is no foundation for such a statement. Of course, there are agents of Bolshevism in Palestine and persons prepared to distribute Communist propoganda, but not more so than exists in this or any other country where fertile soil for Russian toxin pertains. Anyone aware of the deplorable position of Jews in Russia would realize that they of all communities have suffered most from Bolshevism and are the least likely to spread the disease. Notable exceptions prove the rule.

Another statement in Lord Lloyd's letter reiterates the fallacy of 'attempting to curtail the rights and privileges of the existing Arab population in Palestine'. Arab rights and privileges in Palestine have been very strictly preserved, and no instance of any real hardship has so far come to light. Apprehension, rumour, and distortion exist, but no hardship. On the contrary, Zionism has been a direct benefit to the Arabs in Palestine. Neither can the Arabic peoples of the world consider themselves badly treated. Alone of small nations, they have more than one kingdom. Self-determination has done more for the Arabs than for any other race.

Finally, as there is so much controversy regarding the application of Zionism, let me quote what Lord Balfour told the writer in Paris on July 30th, 1919, on the eve of taking up the appointment of Chief Political Officer in Palestine. Lord Balfour was asked for a definition of his famous declaration and our future policy. He replied:





All development, industrial schemes of all kinds, and financial assistance must be based on the principle that Jews are the most-favoured nation in Palestine. All preparatory work undertaken before the final destiny of Palestine is settled must be similarly based on this principle.

During my term of office in Palestine I endeavoured to carry out this interpretation. Since 1920 our policy in Palestine has been whittled down to exasperating limits by the very persons whose duty it has been to carry out the policy. Obstruction to Zionism by his Majesty's Government, by persons blinded to the immense moral and physical advantages of the policy by anti-semitism, and by unsympathetic officials in both Palestine and Downing Street, have proved greater enemies to Zionism than all other economic or political obstacles.

Zionism has come to stay. To attempt to interfere with Jewry is to interfere with history. His Majesty's Government and enemies of Zionism can delay the ultimate destiny of Palestine, but they cannot prevent its ultimate fulfilment.

George Lloyd, later Lord Lloyd, served under me in the Intelligence Service in the Palestine campaign. An extremely able, charming and virile character, he was saturated with a lasting sympathy for Arab nationalism and a contempt and dislike for Zionism. To quote John Connell 'it both narrowed and sharpened the focus of his views in Middle East Policy'.

27.x.1932. London

This evening I attended a most successful meeting of the Paladin Club with Norman Bentwich in the chair. Weizmann, Sir Herbert Samuel and Sir A. Wauchope, present High Commissioner in Palestine, were guests. I had not met Wauchope before but knew his father when I was a boy and a fine old warrior he was, ending his life on the field of battle in South Africa.

When we went into dinner I was roughly pushed on one side by a member, Sir Robert Waley Cohen, who went at once to the seat next to Wauchope which was marked with my name and dumped himself down in it, but he left my card in front of him whilst I took his place with his card in front of me.





Such acts of deliberate rudeness always take me aback and I can never find a suitable repartee at the moment though many occur subsequently. My first impulse is to pull their noses or fling them out of the room but both these methods do not go down well in a restaurant. So I just sat still. But Robert was rewarded. Wauchope did not know him and naturally presumed that he was Colonel Meinertzhagen, seeing my card in front of him, so conversation went briskly on that assumption for Wauchope knew of me and my work in Palestine. Wauchope spoke of the army, of the war and of the staff college and I could see Robert was becoming more and more perplexed until Wauchope said, 'And I understand you are very interested in natural history; you should come out and write about our birds in the same manner as you have done for Egypt.' Robert then saw the mess he was in and said, 'But I have never written a book on Egypt'. I then leaned across and said, 'General Wauchope, may I introduce you to Sir Robert Waley Cohen who has unfortunately occupied the place opposite my Card. I am Colonel Meinertzhagen.' After that there was some coolness in the conversation between the two. Sir Robert subsequently apologized to me.

And that was by no means the end of Sir Robert's discomfiture, for Weizmann had noticed his piratical action in taking my place and was annoyed for he wished me to sit next to Wauchope. So in a subsequent discussion when Sir Robert injudiciously asked Weizmann to suggest a means whereby rich Jews in England could best help Zionism, Weizmann leaped at him, explaining there was a great role for the Jews of England who up till now had been worshippers of the Golden Calf, refusing to abandon luxury and extravagance. Let them come, even a few of them and lend their ability in Palestine, on the spot. Let them come, not as tourists but as helpers, let them show by example and not by cheque, let them come out and live the life of the immigrants, see their troubles and share them, then they would indeed help. Could not some of them take up Palestinian citizenship? And so on. Sir Robert squirmed and when Weizmann's castigation ceased, I could not help remarking to him that I thought he had brought it on himself.





Weizmann is a particularly lucid speaker and this evening he was at his best. He dwelt on the driving back of Jews to Palestine by the world economic crisis and on the increasing facilities necessary for immigration. Weizmann dare not yet voice his true conception of militant Zionism and his dream of a Jewish Palestine. I am convinced that a Jewish State is the ultimate state of Zionism and that is what Weizmann works for. I am convinced that Zionism will never reach its adult stage until that dream is realized and it cannot occur without an armed clash with the Arabs. King Feisal has recently visited Transjordan and I understand that the main object of his visit was to discuss with his brother the project of a pan-Arab confederation which shall include Palestine. Zionism must guard against that and fight against it. I publicly asked Weizmann his views on that aspect. His reply was guarded: 'Palestine must never become an Arab State.' Of course not.

Iraq has recently become a member of the League of Nations. There has been a suggestion that Palestine should receive autonomous government on the same lines as has been granted to Iraq. Such a course is impossible until the Jews get control. So long as there are two rival religions, beliefs, cultures and aspirations in Palestine, neither party can hope to govern and a British administration must remain to keep the peace. When Palestine enters the League it will do so as a Jewish State.

It is never safe to prophesy about the future of Palestine. One enters into too much competition. But I am satisfied that Palestine will eventually become as much a Jewish State as England is English.

Palestine is a country of miracles but nowadays the fulfilment of a miracle depends on two things. First, much and continuous hard work. Second, the immediate grasping of the opportunity when it arises. Thus will a Jewish Sovereign State come into being and prevail over enemies who strive to destroy her.

3.III.33. *London*

Last night I took Bardie* to the Savoy where we were the guests of the Zionist Organization at a banquet given to

*My sister Mrs Drake.





'Friends of Palestine'. Weizmann was in the chair. We sat at a table with the D'Avigdor Goldsmids and General Money. Weizmann in his address emphasized the fact that Transjordan was much larger than Palestine but was derelict and barren, requiring a grant in aid from Great Britain, and this he attributed to the fact that the Jews had not yet penetrated thus far.

Herbert Samuel spoke well, stating that Palestine was to-day the only prosperous country in the world, having no unemployment and a large budget surplus. He also emphasized the need of co-operation with the Arabs and said that the Jews could never make a success of Palestine without taking the Arabs along with them. At this point Weizmann winked at me. One might as well expect a ferret to co-operate with the rabbit. Walter Elliott made a good and witty speech but, being a Cabinet Minister, it contained little meat. Lord Melchett delivered a ponderous oration which was neither convincing nor enthusiastic. But he meant well.

Zionism has now come to stay. It is no longer an experiment but a living fact and the greatest achievement of the war, no less in importance than smashing German militarism. Zionism, in spite of consistent obstruction from the Colonial Office and local officials, in spite of Arab objections, can now march forward till it reaches its ultimate goal, a Jewish State in Palestine, eventually spreading to Transjordan and Syria. In my dreams I see a contented, prosperous Jewish State, bound by sacred ties to Great Britain, a corner-stone of the Middle East, and holding sway between the Mediterranean and the Persian Gulf. I shall never see this, but it will come.

In October 1934, I was in Berlin, working in the Museum, and called on Ribbentrop who was President of the German branch of the Anglo-German Association. I was convinced that Hitler's main enemy was Russian Communism and that Britain, at that time, was cold-shouldering Germany for fear of offending France. If we continued refusing to be friendly with Germany we should earn her hatred and then a second world war. Our policy should be to concentrate Hitler's attention on the east and not on the west. Russia is the enemy of Europe and we should do well to encourage Germany to deal with her.





I had three interviews with Hitler and Ribbentrop between 1934 and 1939. Hitler was obsessed with the injustice of the Treaty of Versailles, he was obsessed with the idea that the Jews were working to ruin Germany, he was terrified of Russian communism and he was obsessed with the greatness of Germany and his need to expand. I do not believe he was hostile to Britain until Ribbentrop came to London as Ambassador. So unpopular was this ill-mannered upstart, that the Governors of Eton refused to allow his son entry to the school. This incensed Ribbentrop with a hatred for England and everything English and from then on he devoted himself to poisoning Hitler's mind against Britain.

17.x.1934. *Berlin*

I lunched with Ribbentrop. I am not very sure of Ribbentrop and do not entirely trust him. He is an enthusiastic Nazi and devoted to Hitler. But I always think a man's wife and home are good tests of character. He has a charming wife and an equally charming daughter aged about fourteen, and the house seemed happy, clean and good. Judged on those standards, I have nothing against Ribbentrop.

I had made certain suggestions to Ribbentrop regarding action which Hitler might take towards an Anglo-German rapprochement, and Ribbentrop asked me if I would like to repeat them to Hitler himself. An interview was arranged for 4 p.m. this afternoon.

When the door of the Chancellor's room was thrown open and I walked in I received a bit of a shock. The room is immense and at the further end was Hitler who at once walked towards me. I also walked towards him, each glaring at the other, and Hitler has a most penetrating gaze. It seemed ages before we met in the middle of the room. Hitler raised his hand exclaiming 'Heil Hitler'; I thought it rather odd that he should 'heil' himself, so I raised my hand and said 'Heil Meinertzhagen'. Nobody smiled. We then shook hands and sat at a small round table, Ribbentrop acting as interpreter. Hitler dressed in black trousers, a chocolate coloured tunic open at the neck, with brown tie and swastika tie-pin, an Iron Cross on his left breast and a brilliant red, white and black swastika armlet. He struck me as being a man of immense strength both physical





and mental, possessing a magnetic personality, very sincere and absolutely truthful. This latter character struck me most. Men like Smuts, Winston Churchill, Milner, whom I have met, never impressed me so much with their absolute truthfulness and sincerity. Lloyd George is of course a bundle of humbuggery.

We spoke first on the East African Campaign and von Lettow and he related some of his war experiences. His utter hatred of war was very clear. He told me that Germany wanted her colonies back but would never consider their return except in friendly agreement with Great Britain. He said that Germany must have expansion and that the west was closed. They had no desire to expand west nor to possess Alsace Lorraine where they were not loved. They would try to expand east but by peaceful means. Eternal peace was his aim and whilst he was Chancellor he would never think of war except as a protective measure if Germany were invaded. He said that his whole policy was based on peace. He said that 500 years of peace between Britain and Germany had been broken in 1914. If he could inaugurate a new era of 500 years peace between our two countries, he would be a happy man. Hitler was most emphatic that there never had and never would be any aggressive military conception within or behind the Nazi movement. Hitler particularly desires peace with France and has made great efforts to this end without success. France always stands in his way when he wants peace. The League of Nations is under French control and as such its activities must always be inimical to Germany. France desires to crush Germany for ever, but that she cannot do. Her policy of encirclement is most irritating for Germany. France is the greatest military power in Europe to-day and Germany fears her. Germany must have the means to protect herself against French aggression. I told Hitler that France alone can do nothing. She must have British support and that she would never get unless Germany was the aggressor. France without Britain is impotent. Hitler repeated to me that if France disarmed as she should under the Treaty of Versailles, then he would not arm beyond the limits of protection.

This brought us to the question of Anglo-German friendship. He was bitter at the campaign of calumny and misrepresenta-





tion in the British Press. So am I. Hitler is frantically desirous of our friendship. I explained that he had estranged our public by the persecution of the Jews, interference in Austria and the same clean-up. He explained to me his views on these, of which more later on. I suggested that Hitler should make a gesture to us on the following lines. After the war, Germany resented our blockade more than anything else. We resented the sinking of ships by submarines and the bombing of our towns by aeroplanes. I suggested that Hitler should offer that in future and for ever no German submarine would fire a torpedo at a British merchantman nor would a German aeroplane ever again bomb a British town. In return for which he would ask that we forgo blockade against Germany. It would be a magnificent gesture and even if turned down by our Government, would have great effect in this country. Hitler thought for a moment and then said: 'I do not think France would like it.' Of course she wouldn't, but if we and Germany came to some such agreement, surely France would either have to make a similar agreement with Germany and ourselves which would be a first beginning of disarmament, or she would squeal and scream like an hysterical woman and eventually lose our friendship. But in any case such a gesture on Hitler's part would have an immense effect in this country and would improve our relations. Of course, many of us would say they could not trust Hitler and that National Socialism has not come to stay and the gesture only covers some sinister bellicose plan. Hitler said he would consider the suggestion.

Hitler gave me his point of view on the Jewish question. He admitted he was a fanatic and a bitter anti-Semite. He began by saying that, before he came into power, Jews overran many Government Departments, and many professions. They were also the principal organizers of the German Communist Party. They had proved themselves to be able politicians and organizers. Many of them amassed fortunes during the war and finance was largely in their hands. The result was that Hitler found that the Jews, about one per cent of the population, were imposing their ideals, their culture and their politics on seventy million Germans and Germany disliked this. Hitler asked me how we should have stood a House of Commons with a





Jewish majority, a Press controlled by Jews and Jewish culture dominant and Jews at the head of the legal and medical professions. The Nazi worm turned and Jewry wailed; the Press denounced the German Government in violent terms. Of course, this has entailed great hardship on many hundreds of Jews and I am terribly sorry for their present state: but the Germans have gained control of their own house and had a perfect right to do so.

The persecution of the Jews in Germany has been deliberately exaggerated by the British Press. The German Foreign Office contains three Jews in high positions and the same applies to all Government Offices and professions. Only Jews of communist tendencies have been shut up or expelled. Hundreds of Jews have left Germany through fear, many have been squeezed out of professions, but 'persecution' does not exist except as isolated instances by irresponsible hot-heads and has formed no part of the Government policy. Jews in Germany are now treated as aliens, as indeed they are in race, tradition, culture and religion.

In 1934 I did believe that this was the true position. I shall continue my contacts with Hitler.

20.v.1935. *London*

Weizmann came to see me this evening, much perturbed about the state of German Jews still in Germany. He tells me that Hitler will neither allow them to remain in Germany under similar conditions enjoyed by Germans, nor will he allow them to move to Palestine with their money. They are allowed to take £1,000 and 20,000 marks in goods. Neither Weizmann nor I were anxious to discuss Hitler's treatment of the Jews. Our views diverge and my dear old friend Weizmann is terribly biased. In a moment of anger he dropped 'I don't much care whether cholera or Bolshevism overwhelms Germany, I should prefer them both to do so.' But what Weizmann came to see me about was whether I would go to Berlin and lay before some responsible official the Zionist aspect of the question. Hitler is, I believe, not antagonistic to Zionism. Weizmann wants me to try to get the German Government to free all emigration to Palestine and give the Jews in Germany





ilities to prepare themselves for emigration, such as schools where the children could learn Hebrew, etc. I agreed that I would do my best to help and he is making me out an *aide-mémoire* on the subject. I would then see what I could do, and maybe I could do a lot. I shall certainly try always to further Palestine and Zionism.

I went to Berlin in July.

10.VII.1935. *London*

Weizmann came to see me this morning, looking worried and tired. Germany's persistent persecution and defamation of the Jews has thoroughly depressed him, and, I must admit, if I were a Jew I should feel like murdering any and every German. Jew-baiting seems to have become a pastime in Berlin and the bullying nature of the Teuton is running riot in an orgy of hatred against the Hebrew. But Weizmann's immediate concern is to ameliorate the circumstances under which German Jews can emigrate to Palestine. At present the wealthier class of Jews in Germany are unable to export their capital either in cash or goods owing partly to official obstruction and partly to the dearth of sterling. The German authorities have disallowed Jewish schools where Hebrew can be taught and have forbidden Jews to learn agriculture in Germany. Weizmann wishes me to go to Germany to get these disabilities removed. I have agreed to go to Berlin and have a try on the condition that my conversations are confined to Palestine emigrants and do not touch on the purely domestic question of the treatment of the Jews in Germany.

Poor Weizmann is terribly depressed, partly because of the treatment meted out to his people in Germany and partly because he is feeling very old and losing his energy. He says he feels an outcast and a stranger even in England where he is conscious of the growth of anti-semitism. He says he would sooner see the German Jew go under altogether than see Palestine lost to the Jews, for the Holy Land is something more than holy to him and his people. At times he feels the urge of violence, an inclination towards murder and sabotage, and a violent revolution by the Jews of the world against existing organization of society. The Jews are the embodiment of inter-





national socialism and I can easily conceive in many years to come that if they increase their power much more they may succeed in establishing Jewish States in more places than Palestine. That would be definitely bad for the world. But Jewish dominance is already arising in many professions and trades and, if unchecked, will spread to politics and governments. This is the danger against which Germany is fighting and it is this danger which impels anti-semitism and persecution. Wherever and whenever Jewish dominance arises and threatens to overwhelm non-Jewish communities, there will be persecution and the Jew will be thrust forcibly back; everywhere except in Palestine; in that country the Jew and everything Jewish can flourish and expand unchecked.

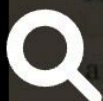
15.VII.1935. *Berlin*

I had a short conversation with Hitler and Hess. Hitler said that much could be done by the old soldiers of Germany and Britain, and that he was working very hard to get real friendship between the two countries. He hoped to make friends with France but found enmity and suspicion wherever he turned. He did not despair. He thought Mussolini mad to embark on a campaign against Abyssinia and strongly deprecated the war-like attitude of Italians in general just at a moment when the world was striving so hard for peace and quiet. He said that Mussolini had put France into a very difficult position.

During my conversation with Hitler, I broached the subject of the Jews in Germany. The effect was remarkable. The man changed from sanity to insanity, the face changed from normal to ferocity, the voice from an almost whisper to a shout, even the hair became untidy, fists hammering the table and eyes aflame with hatred. I was subjected to a Reichstag speech in miniature. It became clear that I should get no further with the Jewish question when dealing with Hitler, so I decided to switch over to Ribbentrop. To my relief, my conversation with Hitler was brought to an end by the arrival of Hess, a hurried whisper and off went Adolph.

I spoke a few moments with Hess. He seemed less of a fanatic than Hitler but sincere and able. I believe he exercises a moderating influence over the German Government and is





liked and respected by all. I liked the look of him for he seemed less complex and more human than most of the German leaders.

All big Nazis are admirers of Britain and would welcome any sort of alliance or agreement which would stop all this war-mongering in London. They told me quite openly that what they feared more than anything was communism and that all this re-arming was directed against Russia. At the moment there is no doubt that both Ribbentrop and Hitler are anxious to remain at peace with Britain and they both sincerely believe that we can settle all our differences and police Europe so effectively that war will never again be possible. That I believe to be true. On the other hand the Nazi leaders are showing signs of exasperation and frustration at a hostile Whitehall. Every German desire for friendship with us is turned down and they are still held as aggressors and war-makers. If we continue to turn down German friendship, sooner or later war will be inevitable. It is far from inevitable at the moment. But the moment Hitler and Ribbentrop realize that peace is impossible, owing to our hostile attitude, then war becomes a certainty.

I should mention that during my talk with Hitler, he said that he was changing his ambassador in London and wished to send a man who would not only keep him fully informed but who would also be popular with the British. His idea was to send a highly placed naval officer as he thought a German admiral might do well. What did I think of it? I had a brain wave. I suggested von Lettow* as he had a high reputation in England as an honourable man and a clean fighter; he also speaks English moderately well and is essentially a man of gentle manners. Also shrewd and one hundred per cent German. Hitler was a bit astonished, thought awhile in silence, then slapped his thigh and thought it a good idea. I told him that von Lettow was now in Berlin and I thought he might consider the appointment. Hitler said he would like to see him and might offer him the post but that I was on no account to mention the matter to von Lettow though I might tell von Lettow that Hitler wished to see him.

* General von Lettow Vorbeck, a great friend of mine who commanded the German forces against us in East Africa 1914-1918.





I think if there is any risk of war, it might be averted by advice from von Lettow. He knows us well and knows also that a second world war would be disastrous for Germany. He would do his best to restrain Hitler and would give him the best possible advice about England.

On the whole I do not think I shall mention to von Lettow that Hitler wishes to see him. He loathes Hitler and everything he stands for and might refuse to serve under him. He might even refuse to see him.

On returning to my hotel I found two Jews in the hall awaiting my return. They said, like conspirators, that they wished to see me; so I took them to my room. They then exploded with the most fantastic tales of what was going on in concentration camps, torturing, murdering, raping of Jews. I cannot believe it is true. They kept me for over two hours reading details of what was happening in specific cases to their own people in these camps. I was very sympathetic and asked them to let me have a written statement which I would give our Foreign Office on my return. This they were afraid to do as their turn might come next. But even if only half of what they told me were true, it is a blot on civilization; and surely our Foreign Office must know all about it and if they did surely they would have done something and exposed it; or our Press would have got hold of it and exposed such outrageous cruelty. It makes me more than ever anxious to get the Jews their own home in Palestine, a refuge for a dispersed nation, a home where at any rate cruelty will be unknown, for the Jews are a kindly people, a cultivated people and a people who deserve well of the world. My God, they have had a raw deal and it must be put right.

21.VII.1935. *Berlin*

The position of the Jews in Germany is indeed pitiable and a disgrace to Germany. It is a living death. They have been excluded by law from the Civil Service, from the professions and from agriculture, and a relentless boycott is rapidly ousting them from industry and commerce. Every means is being sought to make the Jew a pariah, an outcast, an inferior citizen. Jewish children in State schools have to suffer discrimination which is becoming unbearable. The position of the Jew in





Germany is like that of a rat in a trap. There is no escape. Most countries are closed against Jewish immigration. In their natural home, Palestine, the authorities require that immigrants have substantial financial resources and a trade or craft. The Jew in Germany has neither. There is no sterling in Germany so the Jew has, if he leaves the country, to go without his bank balance, and, by reason of his race, he is not permitted to learn agriculture. Something has got to be done to remedy this and I have come to Berlin to try my hand at some solution. I have steered clear of the purely domestic question of Jews in Germany and have confined my conversations to the question of Jewish emigration to Palestine. From the start I was hampered by the Jews themselves, as is natural. I begged Weizmann, before I came over, to ask the Zionists in Berlin to leave me alone and promised to get into touch with them as soon as I had finished my conversations. But no sooner did I arrive in my hotel than the manager told me that Jews and Zionists had been pestering him to advise them of my arrival, and no sooner did I set foot in my bedroom than the telephone rang and has been ringing ever since—Jews seeking an interview. The result is that the whole hotel knows I have come over here on their behalf, the police know and all the officials know. It will not make either my task any easier, nor the lot of the Jews better, for the Jew-baiting element will assuredly take it out of them for getting a foreigner in to fight their battles.

No German high official will see a Jew; the result being that the Jewish case has never been fairly put to any high official. During the last few days I have had unlimited access to Ribbentrop, Lehnkering officials at the Reichs Bank and the Ministry of Education. My object has been threefold. To try to get the authorities to allow Jews to take out their possessions, if not in sterling, then in goods. This they have promised to allow, and any sterling entering Germany from the sale of German goods outside Germany is to be earmarked to help other Jews to go to Palestine.

Both Ribbentrop and the Reichs Bank told me that any positive proposals put forward to assist Jews emigrating to Palestine would be welcomed and most sympathetically received. But they flatly refused to discuss the matter with Weizmann or any Jew.





My second object was to get official sanction for Jewish schools of agriculture and this has been given for Jews going to Palestine. My third object was sanction for Jews going to Palestine to be allowed to attend schools where they could learn Hebrew, and, after much opposition, they conceded this.

I scarcely touched on the larger question of the treatment of Jews remaining in Germany. It is a domestic question and they did not like my talking officially on the subject. Yesterday, in Berlin, on a Government notice board I saw the following write-up:

‘Wer den Juden Kennt, kennt den Teufel.’

I drew Ribbentrop’s attention to this. He was a bit shocked and surprised and said it must be some mistake; but there is no mistake: it is only part of the general policy to inflame the Berlin public against the Jews and it has its effect. Last night there was much Jew-baiting in the city. I don’t believe the Berliner is really a Jew-hater; he cordially dislikes certain aspects of the Jew; many of them are Communists and all are hostile to the Nazi regime. But that is no reason for treating them as wild beasts and pariahs.

My own view is that the German has a perfect right to treat the Jew as an alien and deny him German citizenship. He even has a right to expel him from Germany; but it must be done decently and with justice; such a policy would take years to fulfil. Instead of which German policy aims at making it impossible for the Jews either to remain or get out of Germany.

A leading Berlin Jew, Siegfried Moses, dined with me last night. He lives in Jerusalemstrasse, a foolish address. He was extremely intelligent, but eaten up with hatred and suspicion against the German Government. I told him I had seen many high officials on the subject of Jewish emigration to Palestine, and that I believed I had converted the German Government to a more sympathetic attitude. He enlarged on the general state of Jews in Germany, saying they were fast coming to the end of their resources and patience. Wherever they turned or whatever they did they found hostility and hatred. They would soon be starved to death in Germany and they could not get out of the accursed country. It is a difficult problem. The Jews have without doubt attained an ascendancy in Germany in





many trades and professions, and without doubt much of the communist influence is Jewish. The Jews are international and mainly international socialists, directly opposed to the extreme form of nationalist Nazi socialism. Small wonder then that modern Germany has found them distasteful, and with typical hard-headed tactlessness and frightfulness, Germany is now trying to eradicate the Jews from Germany. She will only partially succeed and in doing so she is going to spread a poison directed against herself, which will do her much harm in many countries and in many spheres. For the Jews never forget.

I was again in Berlin with my cousin Theresa Clay in 1939. I did not tell my cousin of the following incident as, if I had been discovered with a loaded automatic, she would have been severely compromised and almost certainly arrested. I am thoroughly ashamed of this incident. Even now I cannot explain my conduct which was essentially stupid but prompted by bravado and certainty of opportunity.

28.VI.1939. *Berlin*

Dufour telephoned after breakfast saying that Hitler wished to see me at 11 a.m. I nearly refused for I did not feel like seeing the man. However, off I went to the Chancellerie and took the precaution of placing a loaded automatic in my pocket so that I could prove 'opportunity' to kill the man. Since I saw him last, my opinion of him has altered. He means to have his war; he means to kill millions to satisfy his lust for power; his war will involve the whole world and whoever wins will lose.

I was shown into that enormous room, again by a grumpy, unsmiling Ribbentrop who interpreted. A long speech by Hitler blaming Britain for obstructing German expansion eastward; and a long diatribe on 'encirclement'. I listened and held my tongue; after about forty minutes I showed signs of wishing to go and finally got up, held out my hand and left the room in silence. I cannot conceive why the man wished to see me.

I had ample opportunity to kill both Hitler and Ribbentrop and am seriously troubled about it. If this war breaks out, as I feel sure it will, then I shall feel very much to blame for not





killing these two; on the other hand I am quite sure that if I killed them both there would be no war and I should be written off as a madman. But I did satisfy myself that I had the opportunity to kill them both.

Both Hitler and Ribbentrop behaved quite differently to previous occasions when I had met them. Ribbentrop was not smiling but all snarling; Hitler reminded me of a mad dog, hysterical, dishonest and determined to have his war; Ribbentrop behaved like a cad which comes quite natural to him. But I'm worried, very worried. First, war seems inevitable. Second, I might have stopped it.

And now we leave Hitler and Berlin and return to London in 1934.

25.x.34. *London*

Dined at the Paladin Club, Wauchope and Storrs being the guests. In some ways Storrs is a remarkable man. I first met him in 1917 when he was installed as the first Governor of Jerusalem, his immediate predecessor being Pontius Pilate. As Governor of Jerusalem for nine years he was without doubt a success, but his natural bent for intrigue and his anti-Zionist propaganda nearly cost him his job. An unlimited supply of seccotine kept him in the saddle at a time when everyone was anxious for his removal, and I admired him more for the way he stuck it out than for his actual work much of which was excellent. He ruled largely by personality and by humour. It is said that when some ugly riots were imminent, he took up a post at the Damascus gate with some lancers behind him and a howling Arab mob before him. An Arab who refused to move was prodded by a lancer in the backside and blood was drawn. The Arab lifted his gown and showed his bleeding part to Storrs who remarked 'Go and show that to your wife, not to me', and the crowd roared with laughter and dispersed.

After Jerusalem, Storrs went to Cyprus as Governor, and there he had Government House burned down by a Greek mob under rather disgraceful conditions. I have never understood why he did not lose his job, but another large dose of seccotine kept him in the saddle. I understand His Majesty likes Storrs





and that this fact saved the situation more than once. Storrs is a brilliant conversationalist, a good musician and an extremely well-read man, but a bubble, synthetic and with all the intricacies of oriental intrigue. All the same I like him. Storrs then went as Governor to Rhodesia and returned recently before his time was up.

I sat between Melchett and Storrs. Melchett told me about the Jewish boycott of German goods, a nasty and effective business. With their usual cleverness, the Jews are using Jewish merchants in London to join the boycott. Jewish consumers are but a very small proportion of the community in Britain, but Jewish merchants are a very large proportion of the firms who handle German goods, and these are the people who are setting out to ruin Germany.

The subject of debate this evening was the Jew and Arab in Palestine. All speakers advocated the raising up of the Arab to Jewish level, equality, employment of Jews by Arabs, equal political status, and so on and so forth. The wonders of the Arabs were trumpeted forth by Jews. It made me sick to listen to such humbug and hypocrisy. All eye-wash. The Jew knows better than I do that the Palestine Arab will never reach the Jewish standard of ability in any sense. The Jew will always be on top and he means to be there. He looks forward to a Jewish State in Palestine with sovereign rights, a real National Home and not a sham Jewish-Arab confederation. The Jew knows perfectly well that the Mandate was given him to enable him to establish himself nationally in Palestine, not with the Arab, but over him. If the Zionists are really going to try to educate the Arab up to Jewish standard and welcome him as an equal brother, then Zionism is going to fail and trickle out into a hybrid state, unstable and worthless. If the Jew attempts to dilute pure Jew with Arab, he signs his death warrant. If all I heard tonight is hypocrisy, then I am disgusted with the Jews. I told them all this tonight and must have 'dropped a brick' for they received it in cold silence. I was annoyed with them, and I think they are now annoyed with me. I shall have something to say to Weizmann on the subject when we meet.

I think Jewish opinion is divided on the subject. The Jews are





curious people. They fight like cats and dogs among themselves but if anyone tries to do anything to a Jew, they always show a united front to the aggressor. Like quarrelsome husbands and wives, they play Hell with each other, but God help anyone who tries to play Hell with either of them.

22.x.36. *London*

This evening I dined with the Paladin Club, an Arab called Ghory being the guest. He spoke on the Arab point of view in Palestine. He is, I believe, the official spokesman of the Arabs in this country, and a pretty poor one at that. He made the wildest claims on behalf of the Arabs and his argument was unconvincing. I spoke after him.

I explained that no promise has ever been made to the Arabs of Palestine by H.M.G., except that their rights should be respected. They were not our Allies during the war, but murderous jackals of the Turkish Army. I pointed out that though the Arabs had been in Palestine for nigh 2,000 years they had done nothing with the country; and also that the Arabs differ from all other nationalities in having several kings and several kingdoms (Iraq, Transjordan, Egypt, Morocco, Arabia, etc.), not to mention the smaller ones like Muscat, Kuwait, etc.

Ghory complained that the Arabs in Palestine were not allowed to fly their national flag or sing their national anthem. Was ever such rot talked? What is the Arab flag or anthem? Ghory was unable to tell me. He complained that there had been discrimination against the Arab in Palestine and this country, whereas exactly the opposite is the case. He complained that vast sums were spent on Jewish education whereas nothing was spent on Arab education in Palestine. The exact opposite is the case.

I pointed out that in spite of a hostile local administration in Palestine and an unsympathetic Colonial Office and House of Commons, Zionism had fixed itself in the saddle. All the bombast of the Wintertons and the pitiable wails of the Lamingtons could not shake it. The time is not far distant when I hope to see a Jewish State in Palestine, the undoubted meaning of the Balfour Declaration.





I also spoke on the spiritual side of Zionism and the strategic importance of Palestine, made doubly more important by the rise of Italy and her conquest of Abyssinia and the possible rejuvenation of an aggressive fascist Spain.

The Royal Commission is on its way to Palestine. If there is any paring down of the gift we gave to Jewry during the war, a gift which was but the realization of a promise given to the Jews by the Almighty long before the Arabs entered Palestine, then we must not be surprised, indeed we must expect Jewry to insist on their pound of meat. It will be a civil war of the bloodiest type, racial and religious. And I doubt if the Jews will ever get Palestine without considerable bloodshed.

In May 1937, I visited Afghanistan on the usual double purpose—natural history and 'my other work'.

18.v.1937. *Afghanistan*

We passed a lorry full of Jews travelling from Mazar on their way to Kabul. The Afghan Government disapprove of Jews as they are said to spread political disaffection and communism. So as many as possible are being persuaded to go to Palestine. Many have already gone from Mazar and those I saw to-day were off to the Promised Land, full of hope. They had a lorry to themselves as no Mohammedan would travel with them. I must admit the Jews' place in this world is terrible. Every man's hand is against them, no home, scarce a friend, degraded, despised and persecuted. They wonder at the hatred they have aroused during the last two thousand years. I don't. But I am intensely sorry for them and would do almost anything to improve their lot. I spoke with one of the Mazar Jews. We conversed in German. He was a pathetic figure, sad in face, dirty but cheerful. I told him of my connection with Palestine and he was grateful. I gave them a letter to our Commissioner in Peshawur which should help. Poor creatures, so desperate and yet confident in their future, living that God's promise shall be fulfilled, and yet so hated and so unattractive.

23.vii.1937. *London*

The Palestine Peel Commission has published its report, the





basis of which is that Zionism in its present form is unworkable and they suggest that the Holy Land be partitioned out between the Jews, Arabs and British.

I am thankful to say that the House of Commons has refused to bless in advance the scheme for the partitioning of Palestine. That gives us a breathing space.

My own view is that partition spells ruin for Zionism and on many grounds is dangerous. It not only endangers the National Home for the Jews but the British position in the Mediterranean and the whole East. It would be unwise to enter the lists of Prophets in relation to Palestine, but it would be safe to say that a disjointed and discontented Palestine means not only a weak Palestine but almost a lost Palestine, lost to us and lost to the Jews.

The arguments in favour of persisting on the integrity of Palestine and the maintenance of the National Home are many.

There is nothing wrong with the Mandate. The fault lies with the Government Departments, the House of Commons and the local Administration, none of which bodies has been in sympathy with Zionism. On the contrary, their actions have given encouragement to the Arabs to resist and there have been deliberate attempts to sabotage Zionism.

The anti-Zionist rebellion was grossly mishandled with inadequate forces.

The so-called promises made to the Arabs during and after the war have been exploded, in spite of misleading constructions placed on them by some of *The Times* correspondents. Moreover, during the Palestine campaign, the Arabs contributed nothing to our victory. They were the jackals of the Turkish Army. The Turks knew them well enough to use them as Labour Units and nothing else. Also, little mention has been made of the promise made by the British Government to the Jews, a promise which only confirmed a greater Promise made at the beginning of time.

Geographically, Palestine and Transjordan are one. They never should have been separated nor was their present status ever intended. Transjordan was 'jumped' with the connivance of certain British officials, and Churchill.

The artificial partitioning of the Holy Land must be repug-





nant to many who, like myself, regard that country as something quite unique and indivisible.

And finally there is the strategic aspect. The only constructive and valuable factor of the Treaty of Versailles was the Palestine Mandate. Almost every other clause has been a miserable failure. Apart from the value of Palestine to the Jews, its position is of inestimable value to the British Empire. Egypt has gone, Abyssinia has gone and now we propose to throw Palestine after them, a piece of folly that is on a par with our handling of the Italian-Abyssinian conflict.

And with the greed and impudence and bombast which accompanies the new Roman empire, we cannot afford to throw away a single card in the Mediterranean.

6.XII.1937. *London*

I attended a discussion this evening on the Partition of Palestine as recommended by the Peel Commission. I was disgusted at the general trend of thought on that thorny subject. All speakers took it for granted that partition was inevitable whilst producing every argument against it. All sorts of variants of partition were suggested, all evil and unworkable. Tracey Phillipps went so far as to question the practicability of a Jewish Home in Palestine, could not see its purpose and suggested that we should scuttle out of Palestine and leave the Jews to go to the Devil in their own way.

In my opinion the Peel Commission have made the Zionist problem infinitely worse than it was when the commission started work. They have complicated the problem and what their proposal boils down to is a further whittling down of the area allotted to the Jews for their National Home. The original idea was a Palestine including Transjordan and bounded on the north by the Litani River. Lloyd George weakened on that point and gave the French a large slice of northern Palestine. Then Abdullah, with the connivance of H.M.G., jumped Transjordan and that was lost. Now it is proposed to give the Jews just a small strip of coastal Palestine. Where is this policy of whittling to cease?

The partitioning of the Holy Land must be repugnant to many like myself who regard the country as unique, indivisible and as a sacred entity. We might as well suggest splitting the





Holy Bible, giving the Jews the Old Testament. The partition of Palestine is no less fantastic.

And if split up into three States, who is going to police the frontiers. Who is going to prevent the restless and fanatical Arabs raiding the Jews? Who is going to stop Italian propaganda in this new Arab State and a violent gospel of anti-British poison by the rejuvenated Roman Empire?

If we step out, Italy steps in. That is certain. My solution of the problem is, in the first place, the removal of Wauchope and placing in Palestine an Administration whose sympathies are with the Zionist policy. Palestine has been too full of pro-Arabs and it is common knowledge that the Administration has on occasion deliberately encouraged the Arabs to hold out against Zionism. With a British Administration friendly to Zionism and a strong garrison and a determination to crush terrorism, Palestine will settle down. And at the same time, tell the Arabs that Zionism has come to stay and that the eventual goal of Zionism is a Jewish State. If I had been allowed to do that in 1919, we should have had none of this trouble. It is a hundred times more difficult now but still practical politics.

God, how we have let the Jews down. And if we are not careful we shall lose the eastern Mediterranean, Iraq and everything which counts in the Middle East.

And how I blame the British Administration which has sided unduly with the Arabs. But though it encouraged the Arabs to resist Zionism, they were not grateful to the British. The Arabs regarded British politeness and sympathy as weakness. It has been remarkable that Arab delegations have approached the British Government and the British Public as though they were the representatives of a conqueror dictating terms, instead of realizing that they were in fact merely the jackals of a nation fairly beaten in war. The Arabs forget the many instances where we have enabled Arab States to gain their independence and yet they deny this small bit of country to the Jews, who at one time owned it.

My letter to *The Times* dated February 7th, 1938.

Sir,

The Board of Deputies of British Jews passed a resolution on





January 16th in the following terms:

This Board would welcome a solution for the future of Palestine, which will provide for the establishment of a Jewish Dominion within the British Commonwealth of Nations.

So at last the ultimate aim of Zionism has been acknowledged by Jews. In 1919, both Mr Lloyd George and Mr Balfour envisaged this goal. And if, in 1919, as I advocated when in political charge of Palestine, this had been made abundantly clear to the Arabs we should never have drifted from disagreement to terrorism. Arab opposition to Zionism has been nursed and encouraged by anti-Zionist views not only in Palestine, but in Whitehall and Westminster. Zionism has never really had a fair chance. With an Administration loyal to the spirit of the Balfour Declaration and backed by officials in Whitehall sympathetic to Zionism, Arab opposition could never have got so completely out of hand. Neither is it now clear to many of us how law and order have ceased to exist in the Holy Land.

The Peel Commission have complicated and aggravated the problem. Their solution is acceptable to no party. It has crystallized Arab opposition and enlarged their demands. And for the Jews it does nothing less than whittle down the area allotted to them for their national home, the practicability of which is ruled out. The Peel Commission completely lost sight of the original intention of the British Government to give the Jews their national home in Palestine (not in a little bit of Palestine).

The original geographical conception of Zionism was a Palestine including Transjordan and bounded on the north by the Litani River. Mr Lloyd George weakened on that point and gave the French a large slice of Northern Palestine. Then Abdullah, with the connivance of H.M.G., jumped Transjordan and that was lost. Now still more is snatched from the Jews. Where is this whittling policy to stop?

The partitioning of the Holy Land must be repugnant to many like myself who regard that country as indivisible, unique, and as a sacred entity. And if split up, who will police the frontiers, who will prevent the restless and fanatical 'have-





not' Arabs from raiding the Jews. Who is going to stop a rejuvenated and hungry Roman Empire flooding the Holy Land with anti-British poison and even more active forms of toxin. Why create a Polish Corridor in Palestine?

Let there be no doubt on this point. Partition means loss, and the strategic importance of Palestine is immense. With Palestine lost to the Commonwealth, how do we stand in the Mediterranean? It is no exaggeration to say that Palestine is the corner-stone of our Eastern possessions. Is this realized by those who welcome a partitioned and weakened Palestine?

Extreme views are never popular. What may seem to be unpractical politics to-day may be a solution to-morrow. None will deny the desperate state of Palestine to-day, and it is believed not to be too late for a bold and just policy to succeed. The fate of Zionism is in the balance and with it goes our good name and our position in the Mediterranean. It is for us to decide whether we shall implement the Balfour Declaration (which, after all, was but the re-affirmation of a still greater promise) and give justice to a nation which has suffered injustices for 2,000 years; or whether we shall allow Zionism to shrink into a discontented and insignificant dream. The former to our immense advantage, the latter to our shame and undoing.

Much has been written about injustice to the Arabs. There is nothing in a Jewish State which conflicts with Arab rights. And, moreover, be it remembered that the Arabs are the only nation in the world with at least three kings and several sovereign States. The Jews are a nation without a home. Also the Balfour Declaration cannot be separated from the treaties following the Great War. The Arabs of Palestine, far from contributing anything towards ultimate victory, actively opposed us and deserve no better treatment than others. The so-called promises made to the Arabs have received sufficient exposure in your columns.

The following solution is advocated. Immediate reversion to the Mandate and that the Arabs be informed that the Balfour Declaration stands, its ultimate aim being a Jewish sovereign State in Palestine. And my advice to the Jews is never to lose sight of the fact that Palestine includes the area from Dan to





Beersheba and in fact the country occupied by the twelve tribes after their exodus. History shows that if a determined people know what they want and mean to get it success is theirs. And if the British people awaken to the crippling effect of a lost Palestine public and official opinion might be less anti-Zionist and more understanding not only of Jewish claims but of British interests.

Yours faithfully,
R. Meinertzhagen.

27.VI.1938. *London*

Dined with the Weizmanns this evening. They are just back from Palestine and not so depressed as I expected. He accepts partition of Palestine in principle but makes conditions insisting on a much larger area for the Jews, the whole of Galilee and a wedge right up to and including the western outskirts of Jerusalem. Except on these conditions he is not prepared to accept independence. Should the present commission return and find that partition is unpractical, then it means a return to the Mandate and Weizmann hinted that with a continuance of restricted immigration, trouble and bloodshed would follow. Up to to-day the Jews have been wonderfully patient, but that would soon be exhausted.

Weizmann volunteered the statement that the Grand Mufti escaped from Jerusalem with the connivance of the Administration. If true, that is abominable and Wauchope should be branded as a coward. The Mufti's escape has cost us millions of pounds and hundred of lives. His arrest might have quashed the whole rebellion and certainly would not have meant a world-wide Moslem rising.

We agreed that Palestine had fallen into the background owing to other more spectacular crises in Europe and Asia. The reason is that the public do not realize the importance of the issue. Maybe the fact that Zionism is a Jewish movement has wilfully blinded the public to the importance of Palestine. I still do not think the moment is too late for Britain, Italy and France to come to some agreement and go hand in hand to the Arabs and compel them to hand over the Mufti and accept a Jewish State in Palestine. At the moment we could get





anything we asked from France. After all it is a principle they adhered to in Paris in 1919. Egypt would come in with us and Abdullah always does as we ask. Weizmann says he will propose something on these lines to Malcolm MacDonald this week. Any Arabs who dislike Jewish domination can be compensated and Weizmann says the Jews would willingly do this.

We agreed that anti-semitism is spreading in Britain; due to mass immigration of refugees from Nazi persecution. It is a most disturbing sign but only too true. The Jewish question seems insoluble and I am terribly sorry for them. A Nation without a home, no country they can call their own when the Arabs have more land than they know what to do with.

24.VII.38. *London*

We are now on most friendly terms with Turkey, and with a new Palestine such as the Jews could have made, we might have enjoyed an unassailable position in the Eastern Mediterranean. Jewish persecution in Germany and Austria goes unabated amid daily protests from our politicians and Press. A complete answer to persecution was in our hands. We have frittered away one of the greatest opportunities we have ever had. We began by dividing a country no larger than Wales; we gave the Arabs the idea that our heart was not in Zionism; we encouraged rebellion and then let it get out of hand; we then advocate further partition, we again hesitate, send out further commissions. And all that is wanted is foresight, wisdom and strength. Our politicians seem to have none of these.

Perhaps one of the worst features in Palestine is the complete lack of respect for the British Administration by either Jews or Arabs. Nor is this to be wondered at when we have failed to keep order for two years, when we have not disarmed the Arabs and we have not given the Jews adequate protection. Quite the most disgraceful incident committed by Wauchope and his staff was allowing the Mufti to escape from Jerusalem. This Arab had been fomenting the Arabs against us for years and his removal was advocated by me as long ago as 1919. Nothing was done. He passed from political propaganda to active murder and still nothing was done. The Peel Commission





again advocated his removal and the man hid in the Mosque of Omar. We were afraid to go and fetch him. Instead we allowed him to go, actually connived at his escape into French territory, where he continues to plot and control the murder and crime in Palestine. Wauchope must bear full responsibility for this.

The Jewish question in Germany and the same question in Palestine have never been squarely faced by our Government. The two are inseparable. We clearly cannot interfere in Germany, but we can help in Palestine. The Nazis mean to eradicate Judaism from Germany and they will succeed. Nobody loves the Jews, nobody wants them and yet we are pledged to give them a home in Palestine. Instead we slam the door in their faces just at the moment when it should be wide open. We even whittle down their home at a moment when we should enlarge it. The action of H.M.G. in Palestine is very near to that of Hitler in Germany. They may be more subtle, they are certainly more hypocritical, but the result is similar—insecurity, misery, exasperation and murder.

There has recently been sitting at Evian a conference to try to find a way out. Winterton had the audacity to say that H.M.G. have done their best, they cannot do more. What humbug and hypocrisy. Various suggestions have been made to assist Jewish immigration to countries other than Palestine. Zionism without Zion is nothing at all. The Jews want a Home not an Apartment.

What colossal humbug the Balfour Declaration now sounds. 'View with favour' and 'best endeavours to facilitate'. All constructive effort has come from the Jews. They have had a constant uphill fight against British officialdom since 1919 in defiance of favours and facilities.

There may be a way out of this ghastly mess if only H.M.G. would do it, but they are such a jelly-bellied lot of kittens, that I despair. Just at this moment the French would support us in anything. Ask them to hand over the Mufti and then let us together go to the Arabs, lay our cards on the table and insist on Jewish sovereignty in Palestine. If any Arabs have doubts about it, let them go to the large Arab territories bordering Palestine after full compensation. I believe two or three millions would buy the lot out. And how willingly I would buy out an



Arab family if I knew the land went for ever to Zionism. And thousands of Englishmen would do likewise to settle the Jewish question once and for all. Nor would there be fear of repercussions elsewhere if the situation were handled properly.

But it is too much to expect Whitehall to look into the future and see the weakness of a dismembered Palestine, torn by racial feelings, poisoned by foreign propaganda, a prey to that tom-fool Mussolini, a source of constant danger to our position in the Eastern Mediterranean and a memorial to a dishonoured promise. Gosh, how our politicians fritter away their opportunities.

28.ix.1938. *London*

Weizmann was despondent or rather resigned about Palestine. He says partition is dead. He says local government in Palestine is making no real effort to crush the rebellion. It is widely known now that both Downing Street and Jerusalem are very apathetic about Zionism and would gladly throw it overboard. It is a standing disgrace and we shall suffer for it in the end. It is as much a betrayal of the Jews as has been Hitler's persecution in Germany.

I wrote Lloyd George, asking for confirmation that he regarded Jewish Sovereignty as the goal towards which the Balfour Declaration was the opportunity.

Churt,

Surrey.

October 12th, 1938.

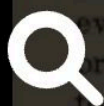
Dear Colonel Meinertzhagen,

I am so sorry that owing to the fact that I have been pre-occupied with my Volumes on the Peace Conference I have neglected to reply to your letter earlier.

I deal with the whole question which you raise in your letter in my Second Volume which appears next month (The First Volume appears next week) and I think you will find the answers there to all your questions.

I am extremely uneasy at the whole of the Palestine position. It has been badly mishandled for years, and now has got almost completely out of control. The record of this Government in tackling its difficulties makes me very apprehensive as to the





next step in Palestine. They have surrendered in the face of every difficulty. Would it not be possible to bring American pressure to bear upon them, before they commit themselves to another betrayal of the interests committed to their charge?

Ever sincerely,
David Lloyd George.

Colonel Meinertzhagen,
17 Kensington Park Gardens,
W.11.

19.XII.1938. *London*

Had supper with Weizmann. He told me that it was a solid fact when he said he had to use sixty per cent of his energy to avoid going mad and losing his temper. His eternal arguing and reasoning with the British Government and permanent officials was like knocking one's head all day and every day against a brick wall. They were lifeless, inanimate and immovable, and in addition unsympathetic to the very policy they were pledged to carry out in Palestine.

Weizmann spoke of his recent visit to Angora. German penetration into Turkey is feared by the Turk. He was told that Turkish and Jewish aims and ideals were similar and could they not work together. They asked for co-operation and Weizmann promised it. It was a unique opportunity to isolate the Arabs who were now a source of embarrassment to the British. The Turk preferred us to the Germans. They were anxious to block German filtration into Asia. There is no question that Germany could do untold harm to us and the Turk if they really got into Arab countries, and stirred them up against us and gave them material help. Weizmann recounted his visit to our Foreign Office who did not seem interested.

Weizmann has also been told that H.M.G. can do nothing for Zionism so long as the two bogies Hitler and Mussolini are on the stage. H.M.G. regard a world war as inevitable and after that they hope once again to promise Palestine to the Jews if the war is successful; if we are beaten, then, of course, there will be no Palestine nor any Jews. So Weizmann is asked to wait—play for time—and meanwhile H.M.G. will do nothing (they





are experts at that) and await with complacency the next war. My God, what a policy.

Weizmann told me that about the time of the Munich meeting last September, the German Army decided that sooner than fight France and Britain, they would remove Hitler. Chamberlain knew this at Munich but disbelieved it. He was given a written guarantee by German Officers (almost unbelievable) to that effect.

A visit to America.

13.II.1939. *Washington, D.C.*

Went to see my old friend Felix Frankfurter recently installed at the Supreme Court. He is a delightfully clever man full of enthusiasm and with one of the pleasantest voices I have ever heard. I got to know him very well in Paris during the Peace Conference and we have often corresponded since on Zionism. We spoke on Zionism and European politics. He told me that American opinion was badly impressed by Chamberlain and his policy of appeasement. That we were giving in to Dictators. That we were giving way to every threat whether by Germans, Italians or Arabs. He was shocked and Jewish opinion in America was deeply shocked at our lack of control and incapacity for government in Palestine, and at our inability to solve the Jewish problem when we had the means ready at hand but were afraid to use it for fear of a few cut-throat Arabs headed by a run-away Mufti. He told me that President Roosevelt had written privately to Chamberlain after Munich telling him what a bad impression this appeasement policy had created in America and also hoping that we would use Palestine as a means of solving the Jewish problem.

I explained to Frankfurter that most of our difficulties had arisen from the Treaty of Versailles, the League of Nations and 'Self determination', all inventions of Woodrow Wilson and since repudiated by the U.S.A. Criticism by the U.S.A. was scarcely relevant unless they were prepared to help. If they had come in with us over Abyssinia or Japan we might have nipped dictatorship in the bud. Frankfurter said that Americans were quite determined to keep out of the European mess and





the next war, but at the same time they were quite certain that in the end they could not escape being dragged into it.

I told him it was not too late to impose an oil embargo on aggressors, notably Japan and Italy, and that it would be effective if the U.S.A., France and ourselves acted in concert. The U.S.A. could compel Mexico to follow. We could have stopped the rape of Abyssinia and the present ghastly war in China. Japan could never take on such a combination, nor could Italy; and yet the U.S.A. persisted in keeping aloof; so long as she did that, she had no right to criticize when the remedy was in her own hands. Justice among nations was not a European affair only, but of world concern. The U.S.A. was not pulling her weight, merely talking.

Frankfurter was concerned with the progress we were making with re-armament. But I could give him no reliable information on that count. He was convinced that we were very near to war in Europe.

He was depressed about Zionism. I showed him a letter I had had from Lloyd George about Zionism and I begged him to go to Roosevelt with Brandeis and get a telegram sent off to Kennedy instructing him to protest vigorously against any interference with the National Home. I think it would have a great effect on our jelly-bellied pundits at the Colonial Office and might stiffen their resistance to the Arabs. But I fear the worst at the forthcoming conference between Jews and Arabs in London. It means that if H.M.G. find there can be no agreement, Zionism in its present form will be jettisoned and Palestine will become an Arab State. Just because H.M.G. are afraid of a hostile Arab community in the forthcoming war. They seem to forget that a friendly Palestine in Jewish hands is infinitely more important than all the hostility of all the Arabs in the world. The Arabs are just a pack of pariahs who would come to heel at once if a strong hand were shown. Up to now our policy in Palestine has been marked by a lack of strength, an inability to know our own minds and a hatred of the Jews. A nice state of affairs for the country responsible for giving the Jews their National Home. Again I appealed to Frankfurter for American help. He promised to see Roosevelt to-morrow and see what could be done.





My letter to *The Times*, 3rd June, 1939.

GOVERNMENT AND PALESTINE
PROMISES TO KING HUSSEIN

To the Editor of *The Times*.

Sir,

Sir Arnold Wilson's letter in your issue of June 1st, is neither kind to a Christian Bishop seeking justice for the Jews nor is it distinguished by great accuracy. The circles in which Sir Arnold lives must be very remarkable if indeed he were not conscious of the disgust and humiliation expressed by almost every British-speaking subject at the manner in which our promises to the Jews have been dishonoured. I have recently returned from the U.S.A., and can assure Sir Arnold that not only in New York and Washington, but also in the West, one finds a general sense of bewilderment at the injustice of the policy of His Majesty's Government with regard to Palestine. And to deny that the Balfour Declaration was not received with enthusiasm and gratitude by Jews shows a lamentable misreading of current history. The Montagu-Morgenthau recession is scarcely relevant.

May I take this opportunity to point out what is not generally realized by persons who regard Palestine as definitely promised to an Arab State? The crucial paragraph of Sir Henry McMahon's letter of October 24th, 1915, reads: 'The portion of Syria lying to the west of the districts of Damascus, Homs, Hama, and Aleppo cannot be said to be purely Arab and should be excluded from the proposed limits and boundaries.' Mr Churchill (1922), when Secretary of State for the Colonies, says: 'The portion of Syria lying to the west of the District of Damascus . . . has always been regarded by His Majesty's Government as covering . . . the independent Sanjak of Jerusalem.' Further, Sir Henry McMahon has stated that Palestine was not, in his opinion, included in his territorial promises to King Hussein.

Let it also be noted that territorial promises were made to King Hussein and not to the Arabs in Palestine, with whom we were at war. It is clear from the McMahon Correspondence that King Hussein's aim was an Arab State, with him at the





helm, reaching from Persia to the Red Sea and from Aleppo to Aden. That dream had never been fulfilled in any respect, though those who insist on Arab rights as expressed in the McMahon letters ignore Syria, Transjordan, and Iraq, shorn from King Hussein's crown during his lifetime, while insisting on Arab claims to Palestine alone. One cannot help wondering what the attitude of the champions of the Arabs would have been if any other race than Jews had been granted a home in that visionary Arab Kingdom.

There can be no escaping from these facts:

(a) We have dishonoured our promises to the Jews at a moment when they of all people on earth require help and consideration. After twenty years of incredible expense and effort in Palestine the Jews are asked to abandon their National Home at the bidding of violence.

(b) By abandoning the Jewish National Home we are throwing away the key to the Eastern Mediterranean at a moment when that again is vital.

(c) The policy of His Majesty's Government in regard to Palestine is similar in quality to the Munich Agreement—appeasement to the aggressor at the expense of a people who cannot help themselves.

Your obedient servant,
R. Meinertzhagen,
Colonel.

I was working in the War Office from the outbreak of war.

14.IX.1939. *London*

Jabotinsky lunched with me to-day at the Carlton. He is president of the Zionist Revisionists, a restless revolutionary, an ardent Left-wing Zionist, militant, ruthless, but able. He propounded two schemes to me, the first to raise a Jewish Army of 200,000 men; the second to conduct an intense propaganda campaign in the U.S.A. I poured unlimited water on each as they were accompanied by the condition that the Jews should be represented at the Peace Conference.

He told me that he only exercised control over about 80 per





cent of his people in Palestine and he refused to give a guarantee for their good behaviour for the period of the war which created a bad impression on me. He seemed anxious to express the loyalty of this section to Britain, but was unprepared to have peace in Palestine. I told him that his action would prevent us from moving military units from Palestine at a moment when we badly needed them elsewhere. To this he turned a deaf ear.

A Note on Jabotinsky

I first met Jabotinsky in Jerusalem in early 1920. I received a report that he had recruited and was drilling the nucleus of a Jewish Army, comprising some 250 men for whom he had somehow obtained arms. I sent for him, told him he was acting illegally in raising a private army and that if he persisted, he would be arrested. He explained that the administration's arrangements for the protection of Jews were utterly inadequate and that he feared a massacre. I found this difficult to answer as I knew he was right. However, I repeated that he risked arrest and deportation or imprisonment if he persisted. About a fortnight later his private army was still being drilled and had increased to some 700 rifles. Jabotinsky was arrested, tried by court martial and sentenced to six years imprisonment. After a most painful interview with his wife, I agreed to intercede. I took the matter up with General Congreve, Commander-in-Chief, who said he could not interfere with justice. I told him he could interfere with injustice and that Jabotinsky's sentence was spiteful and was evidence of discrimination against Jews. Congreve agreed to reduce the sentence to six weeks and deportation for twelve months.

I did not meet Jabotinsky again until September 1939, as related above. In December 1939, he paid me a second visit when he unfolded a plan for sabotaging German oil barges on the Danube. Could I get him suitable bombs? He explained that he had many reliable agents in the Balkans and that all he wanted was the explosive; if we could put the bombs on a certain ship going to Salonika, he could do the rest. After many formalities and consultations, including a visit to Woolwich where the handling of these weapons was demonstrated, 200 sticky-bombs, nasty green jelly, were placed on the ship and off they went. I shall never





forget Jabotinsky's delight and enthusiasm when a demonstration was followed by the complete shattering of a thick steel plate; he threw his arms round me and kissed me; an unusual way of thanking a full colonel in uniform and before a large staff of experts. The venture was a success and many barges were destroyed.

Jabotinsky came to see me again some time later to report progress and produced a most complicated plan for blowing up Hitler and all the top Nazis. The first step in this ambitious plot was to blow up some highly-placed Nazi in Munich to whose funeral would flock all the other top Nazis including Hitler. But the Jewish undertaker in Munich, a friend of J's, would transpose an equal weight of jellybombs in the coffin and as all the Nazis were gathered together in grief round the grave, some 200 pounds of jellybomb would explode and blow them all to glory. But the Foreign Office frowned and the top Nazis escaped.

Jabotinsky was a violent, militant though ardent Zionist, a formidable revolutionary, always screaming for action; he favoured force and action; he loathed argument and discussion. If he had had his way in 1919 and 1920 there is little doubt that H.M.G. would have declared the Balfour Declaration unworkable and Zionism would have lost Palestine. On the other hand it was largely due to his militant group of Zionists that Israel was victorious in 1948. He was a great patriot but impatient, which made co-operation with Weizmann, the statesman, impossible.

15.IX.1939. London

Woolley* and I have pressed the Foreign Office to arrest the Mufti, now in Syria. The French have agreed to tighten control over him but that is insufficient. The Mufti has issued a statement in which he offers to co-operate with us during the war. His condition is that he is allowed to return to Jerusalem. This is but an excuse to avoid arrest. He is not a man who can be trusted. Thanks to General Wauchope, he was allowed to escape to Syria when he should have been arrested and ever since he had been conducting a campaign of murder in Palestine. The War Office and the Palestine authorities now desire his

* Sir Leonard Woolley.



arrest, but the Foreign Office think it would make him a martyr, an entirely false and antiquated view. Experience of the east shows that a strong policy always succeeds.

Let me go on with the story of the Mufti before continuing chronologically.

27.xi.1945. *London*

Woolley tells me that the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, after having given himself up to the French when hostilities ceased, was taken to Paris as an honoured guest, has since been secretly sent in a French ship to Syria and is now in Saudi Arabia and intriguing against us in Palestine. I did not expect anything more or less from the French. They still hate us like poison and will do their utmost to work against us everywhere in the world.

I have written to my Member—Mr Rogers—telling him the facts and asking what we are doing about it. Why are we not told about these renegades from justice, the Grand Mufti and Rashid Ali the Iraqi Rebel, both now in Saudi Arabia. Bevin talks a lot about asking others to put 'their cards on the table face-up'. Why cannot he set an example and place his cards face-up and keep the public informed? Is he afraid of the Arabs or the French or both? Have we asked the French to hand over the Mufti? If not, why not? Do we want him as a war criminal?

10.vi.1946. *London*

The Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, who was captured in Germany at the close of hostilities by the French and removed to Paris where he was allowed comparative freedom, has escaped and presumably gone to the Middle East where he will for sure cause trouble. The man was appointed Grand Mufti by Herbert Samuel in 1920 much against my advice for he hated us and was a born intriguer. But as a man I found him a pleasant companion with a greater sense of humour than is usual among Arabs. In 1919 he was already intriguing against us with Waters-Taylor, the Chief Secretary, and he later identified himself with terrorist activities against the Administration, was deposed, wanted for instigating murder and fled for refuge





into the Mosque of Omar whence he was allowed to escape to Syria where the French gave him asylum and a house . . . Soon after the outbreak of war the French let him escape to Iraq whence he went to Persia and then Berlin, where he stayed as Hitler's guest at the Hotel Adlon. There he gave many broadcasts and declared himself an enemy. Being a Palestinian subject he also became a rebel. He was active in Iraq during the rising there in the war but when that subsided returned to Berlin. I have little doubt that the French connived at his escape for they love embarrassing us in the Near East: nice sort of allies! We shall hear more of the Mufti but our invertebrate Foreign Office are much too timid to do anything about it.

12.VI.1946. *London*

The Mufti has turned up in Syria and is now living in the house of the Syrian Minister in Cairo. He flew from France to Egypt in a French aeroplane and from Cairo to Damascus in an Egyptian plane. As the warrant for the arrest of the Mufti which was issued in Palestine in 1937, after the murder of Lewis Andrews, District Commissioner for Galilee, is still in force, and the Palestine Government's agreement with the Syrian Government is still valid, the Foreign Office could take action; but they will never do so, following their appeasement policy. Meanwhile Ibn Saud has offered the Mufti asylum in Arabia. Now is our chance to get the man and shoot him; it would solve the whole Arab problem in one stroke, for they despise weakness and admire strength, but Whitehall will never get beyond the talking stage.

19.VI.1946. *London*

The Mufti of Jerusalem has turned up in Cairo, gate-crashed at the Royal Palace and threw himself on the mercy of King Farouk. No doubt a put-up job to embarrass us. Farouk's action cannot be regarded as anything but unfriendly and should lead to strong action by us, for the Mufti is a war criminal, wanted for murder by the Palestine Commission and his presence in Cairo under Royal patronage is a challenge to us. I hope we take it up but the Foreign Office, obsessed with appeasement towards the Arabs, will no doubt content themselves with a





mild protest. If the Mufti had been a Jew, what a world-howl would have gone up!

So much for the Mufti; now we can return to 1939. We hear of him again in 1948, when he broadcasted from Gaza advising all Arabs to leave the field clear so that the Jews could be driven into the sea.

20.XI.1939. *London*

Lunched with Weizmann and spoke a lot about the future of Zionism. Weizmann is clearly doing what he can to help us in the war; he has already done a great deal and he assures me there is more to come. He wants H.M.G. to be under an obligation to the Jews and is encouraging Jews to enlist in order to show a credit balance when peace comes. Weizmann hopes thereby to influence opinion in favour of Zionism. He is toying with the idea of seizing the reins of Government in Palestine at the right moment when Britain and Europe are war weary and disinclined to interfere. In this he has my full sympathy and support. If the Jews at the end of this war can emerge with half a million fighting men the pressure will be irresistible. W. tells me that Ironside and others with whom he has discussed the plan are favourably disposed.

But if Weizmann is seriously considering piracy he will find himself in a difficult position after seizing Palestine unless he has support from Turkey. I told him that he should encourage Turkey to press south into Syria. A contiguous frontier with Turkey would be a great support and Arab resistance would crumble if they found the Jews supported by the Great Moslem Power. The Turks know how to deal with the Arabs and can keep them in their proper place.

Weizmann asked my opinion about Palestine some day becoming part of an Arab Federation. I fear I have no faith in any form of co-operation with the Arabs. They are a rotten, effete lot. No such federation would stand the test of practical administration. Jews and Arabs never can and never will mingle. But Turk and Jew would and I regard Turkey as the prime factor in the future of Zionism.





29.III.1940. *London*



Weizmann has just returned from the United States and saw me after dinner.



His aim is to secure substantial backing in America as anti-semitic feeling in Britain is so strong as to give small chance for progressive Zionism. At the end of this war it is Weizmann's intention to secure American co-operation and influence in Palestine and demand Jewish sovereignty. This was the first occasion on which I found Weizmann inclined to go for the big thing and demand a Jewish Sovereign State, a move I advocated in 1919.

24.IV.1940. *London*

Weizmann dined with us this evening. He is in the depths of depression and declares he is resigned to spend his old age in a concentration camp. He thinks there is going to be such a wave of anti-semitism in this country that no Jew will exist outside a concentration camp. Weizmann is overwrought and tired, poor man. Anti-semitism is not so strong as he imagines and concentration camps for Jews are not our way of doing things. But if the Jews want to limit the bounds of anti-semitism they must stop talking about it. The Jews talk about it more than do Gentiles. Nothing increases hatred so much as talking about it and boring people with it and fearing it. But if Jews are going to gain a predominating influence in this country, in professions, in trades, in universities and museums, in finance and as landowners, then of course we shall have to act against them, but it will not take the form of the concentration camp.

Weizmann has just returned from Switzerland where he has been on behalf of the War Office. He had the means of getting some first-hand news of conditions inside Germany. The blockade is slowly being felt. Much food is available but it is most inferior. The public are ill-informed about the war and are confident of victory or a negotiated peace. Weizmann also heard that Mussolini and his friends were still confident of German victory, but that the people hated the Germans.

5.VII.1940. *London*

There is a movement on foot, started by Woolley, to jettison



Zionism as a cheap sop to the Arabs in order to solidify Arab feeling against the French. This is a shameful attempt to take advantage of the Jews at a time when they cannot defend themselves and when they are pledged to help us full out during the war. The Arabs are not doing anything to help.

22.x.1940. *London*

Weizmann lunched with me to-day. We agreed that now was the moment to attack Italy. A good knock and she would go out. We thought Hitler's troubles were far greater than ours were. All his occupied territories—Norway, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Holland, Belgium, France and Rumania—are in the nature of unexploded bombs and might go off some day. And the more of the Balkans he occupies, the weaker he becomes. German occupation of Rumanian oilfields shows Hitler's concern about fuel. And on this subject I promised to arrange a meeting between Weizmann and Trenchard about ketones. We agreed that Greece, Turkey and Russia were all overawed by German might and dazzled by German successes; their inability to act was bred of fear. In other words they are behaving exactly like Denmark and all the rest who have been swallowed up by the Nazi crocodile.

Weizmann also divulged that he had received Cabinet consent in writing to the formation of a Jewish Army, to be recruited from Canada, South Africa, Palestine and Britain and destined for service in the Middle East. It was going to be a *corps élite* and Weizmann was concerned about a commander of the force whose initial strength would be one division. Weizmann asked me to join an advisory committee to which I agreed. I certainly could help in training.

The importance of this Jewish Army is political. Churchill realizes its implications. At the close of the war it will find itself somewhere near Palestine and that means a Jewish State. Weizmann of course works with that goal in his mind. It is what we should have had twenty years ago and by now we might have had half a million Jews in Palestine capable of marching into Syria and settling the Middle East question once and for all.





21.XI.1941. *London*

Weizmann propounded the theory that there are only three virile and sound nations in the world—Russia, Germany and Jewry. They were united within themselves, knew what they wanted and were prepared to fight to the death for a principle. He thought we were only luke-warm about democracy, that we did not know what we wanted and that we were luxurious, effete and rotten, but, he added, improving fast and he thought that another year or two of blood bath might put us right. I asked him what he meant by 'put us right'. He said he meant healthy, virile, united, unselfish, not so luxurious, not so many idle people, better education, more tolerant of other nations' feelings and more prepared to share our colonial world with others. Well, there is a great deal to be said for and against such improvements.

21.VII.1942. *London*

I attended a meeting of a Committee in the House of Commons on the question of raising a Jewish Fighting Force in Palestine and as part of the British Army. This is an old sore question. It was proposed by Weizmann in 1939, accepted in principle by the War Office and then sabotaged by the Civil Service (Colonial and Foreign Offices) for three reasons; the Jew is not a fighting man, the Jews might use the army after the war to seize Palestine, and its formation would provoke Arab hostility. I pointed this out to the Committee and told them that the proposal would fail unless it was taken up above the Civil Service which is one hundred per cent anti-semitic. The moral and strategic aspects do not appeal to them. Victor Cazalet was in the chair. He said that very few Members of the House would support it but a large number would lend sympathy but not their names. How typical! Yes-men! Afraid of anti-semitism among their constituents! Their own position comes first! I know that type so well. There is also a type of Jew who will not lend support to controversial questions affecting Jewry. They have been aptly named O.T.I. or the Order of Trembling Israelites.

After much talk it was decided to send a deputation to the Prime Minister asking him to adopt a Jewish Fighting Force





within the British Army as a Cabinet decision. I believe there is to be a debate in the Commons but I cannot see what good that will do.

I write a letter to The Times on the raising of a Jewish Army.

Editor of the *The Times*.

Since 1939 proposals have been put forward for the raising of a Jewish Fighting Force within the British Army. Recruits would come from Palestine. Such a force would give an outlet for the desire to smash the power that has caused more misery to the Jews than any other force within the memory of man. The Jews have been told that if they wish to fight they can enlist in British units. Some 13,000 have done so in Palestine. The Jews demand something more than this for they may in the near future be asked to face invasion of their homes in Palestine. Have we told the Poles, the Dutch and the Norwegians that if they wish to fight they can do so in British units? The formation of a Jewish Fighting Force was at one moment accepted in principle by the War Office but was ultimately sabotaged by high policy.

The main arguments used against the raising of this force are that the Jews are not fighting men. This can be dismissed as utterly contemptible.

Another objection is that at the end of this war a Jewish Army in being might seize Palestine. Anyone who knows anything about the Jews or Zionism knows that force is not a Jewish weapon. And does any sensible person believe that a Jewish Force would risk an armed conflict with the overwhelming power which the Allied Nations could exert? Or would the Jews be so inept as to jeopardize their precarious position in Palestine by antagonizing Britain and the U.S.A.? The idea is ludicrous.

The third reason is that a Jewish Force might alienate the Arabs from the Allied cause. If Arab support or neutrality is held by such a slender thread, it is scarcely worth having if thereby we lose a strong ally who would fight to the death. Arab susceptibilities must not be allowed to stand in the way of allowing Jews to defend their homes. If Axis forces were to occupy Palestine, the Holy Land would become one huge





concentration camp where the pent-up hatred and bestiality of Nazi sadism would be let loose in a torrent such as the world has never seen. Are the Arabs in a position to defend Palestine or, for that matter, are we?

Our armies are not so large that we can afford to discard some 80,000 to 90,000 fighting men. Has any general at any time had enough men? For purely military reasons the raising of such a force is commonsense and on moral grounds failure to do so is indefensible. No people have better cause to arm than the Jews. Surely it is unique in the history of the British Empire that a people under the British Flag, facing extermination and anxious to defend themselves, should be refused the power to do so. No excuses based on present or ultimate reactions can be accepted. A Jewish Fighting Force should be raised forthwith.

R. Meinertzhagen,
Colonel.

17 Kensington Park Gardens,
W.11.

September 27th, 1942.

23.VII.1943. *London*

To-day I attended a meeting of a newly formed body under the leadership of Wyndham Deedes. We met in a small room in Bedford Square which gave the atmosphere of conspirators. The aim of this new organization is to establish a National Home for the Jews in Palestine provided it does no injustice to the Arabs. In other words just a repetition of the Balfour Declaration. It is to my mind futile going on chastising the British Government with that controversial document which means nothing at all. It will lead nowhere. Weizmann, fresh from the United States, addressed the meeting and I was astonished at his changed attitude towards his subject. He was more robust, more cheerful, more outspoken and more in touch with realities than I have ever heard him before. For the first time he openly demanded Jewish sovereignty in Palestine. He branded Ronald Storrs as an anti-Zionist for the first time, having formerly regarded him as neutral and harmless. Storrs has for twenty-three years given lip-service to Zionism and though I realized in 1919 that he was playing a double game, it has taken all





these years for Weizmann to find him out. Weizmann no longer referred to the Arabs as 'brothers' but as professional political saboteurs. He attacked the Palestine pro-consuls and administration for being anti-semitic and anti-Zionist, claiming that the Jews were more able and intelligent than Palestinian officials which accounted in large measure for their anti-Zionist views; he attacked the Colonial Office for chronic obstruction and demanded a fundamental change towards Zionism among members of His Majesty's Government. This was all most cheering to me. I can only account for Weizmann's renewed energy and fight by something which he has come across in America. Perhaps he has secured American help.

At the last Peace Conference we might have secured absolute sovereignty for the Jews in Palestine if we had insisted on it. In 1920 it was too late and British officials had already poisoned Arab minds; the Palestine question afterwards drifted into insolubility. The Colonial Office completed the disaster by undermining every Zionist attempt to get hold of the country. At the Peace Conference after this war we shall have another and final opportunity to give the Jews full sovereignty in Palestine. I urged Weizmann to-day to strike for nothing less. Provided the U.S.A., Turkey and Russia will support the claim, the British Government with their anti-semitic leanings will after almost thirty years have to give way to justice for the Jews. It will be no light task. Anti-semitism is rampant both here and in the U.S.A. and is on the increase to our everlasting shame. There should have been a special clause in the Atlantic Charter dealing with the Jewish Question for it is a major problem in post-war settlement and demands redress. A sovereign Jewish Palestine would be a great asset to the gentiles and indeed to the whole world. Jewish contributions to world civilization have been huge. A Jewish Palestine would increase that contribution and give it permanent shape.

During the meeting I sat next to Duff Cooper. He asked me if I had read his book. I confess I did not know he had written one. He told me it was the history of David and also a contribution towards Zionism. I must read it. He tells me it is a good book. I did not know until to-day that Duff Cooper had any views one way or another on the subject of Zionism. I





imagine he is more of an anti-'anti-semite' than a pro-Zionist.

30.IX.1943. *London*

Tess and I dined with the Weizmanns at the Dorchester. Again I tried to impress on Weizmann the importance of preparing the ground for a demand for Jewish sovereignty in Palestine at any peace settlement after this war. He would never get sovereignty from any British Government for there is much too much anti-semitism at large in high places and popular opinion takes little interest in the Jewish question, knowing little of it and regarding it as an insoluble nuisance. The public must be made to realize that there is a Jewish problem and that it is of primary importance in a world which pretends to demand justice and freedom for all. One of the main arguments used against Zionism is that Palestine is much too small for the Jews of the world. Of course it is. But, in the first place, all the Jews in the world will not go to live in Palestine, any more than all the British reside in Britain. And, in the second place, once the Jews got Palestine, and the 'blocking' influence of the British Government was removed, they could get what they want by negotiation direct with Syria, Transjordan and Egypt. Transjordan should never have been severed from Palestine for *it is Palestine*. Abdullah is a mere upstart, a useless figure-head and could not maintain himself for an instant without British bayonets. He has no more right to Transjordan than I have. The idea of Jewish sovereignty in Palestine would of course raise a terrific howl from the Arabs and their British supporters, but they would accept such a decision from an Allied Peace Conference. Of course, there would be riots and much blather about injustice but what about injustice to the Jews who have suffered more in the last ten years than the Arabs have in the past 2,000? If Roosevelt favours a Jewish sovereign state in Palestine, and I believe he does, and if Weizmann could enlist support from Russia and Turkey, I believe Churchill, who is now sympathetic, would see it through. If Churchill is afraid of public opinion and anti-semitism in this country, then Russia, the U.S.A. and Turkey must demand it in common justice to the Jews. I believe that if the Jewish case were properly put to the British people when this war is over,





there would be a popular outcry for the only solution to the Jewish Question—sovereignty in Palestine. The Jewish Question has got to be solved; if it is not done now, another opportunity may not recur for centuries. It must be an integral part of all settlements of injustices. But a lot of work must be done behind the scenes. In Paris in 1919 many vital decisions were taken without reference to Parliaments and Congresses.

I do not know how much influence I have over Weizmann. He did not appear to be much impressed. I rather gather he is afraid openly to demand sovereignty and perhaps fights shy of the responsibilities it would entail.

28.IV.1944. *London*

No peace settlement will be complete without a solution of the Jewish Problem. An Allied declaration to this effect is long overdue and should have been embodied in the Atlantic Charter. It is a major problem and affects the future peace of the world. It must not be left in the air as it was in 1919. The Balfour Declaration is a compromise, giving with one hand and taking away with the other. Many constructions have been put on it but both Lloyd George and Balfour told me in 1919 that their own interpretation was that ultimate Jewish sovereignty in Palestine was the intended goal of the Jewish National Home in Palestine. It is a pity they did not say so at the time in an official document. Since 1919, Zionism has been continually sabotaged and whittled down until to-day it means nothing. To Jews their position in their home has dwindled to the status of uninvited guests. All sorts and kinds of remedies have been suggested. A Jewish National Home in Uganda, in the Argentine, in Brazil and in Siberia, disregarding the fundamental fact that Zionism means a return to Zion. No Jewish National Home suffices outside Palestine. Partition has been suggested, an evil compromise satisfying nobody. It is no solution. Complaints are heard that the Zionists should come to a workable agreement with the Arabs. That is impossible as the Arabs do not wish for an agreement which is tainted with any suggestion of a Jewish National Home. Palestine is at present volcanic. Violence is rife and Jews are killing British officials in protest and frustration. These culprits are not gangsters but fanatics





made desperate by the vacillations and broken promises of the British. It is significant that they are all young men and that not one of them has been taken alive. The Jewish hold on Palestine is now considerable. In their present state they cannot be ruled; they can be coerced but that is not government nor a solution.

The only solution is the gift of Palestine to Jewry. It should have been done in 1919 and was in fact done, but in such manner that it was negated by the subsequent action of British officials in Palestine and by Downing Street. It must be done now and a settlement secured once and for all. If Jewish Sovereignty had been granted in 1919 the Arabs would have accepted it. They will not do so now at the hands of Great Britain but would do so at the hands of the United States, Britain, Russia and Turkey. There would be local trouble for a short time and then peace. The main howling would come from arabophil Britons and anti-semites. Let such a decision be part and parcel of the Peace treaty. A great injustice will have been righted and the British Commonwealth will gain a cornerstone in the Middle East which nothing can shake and which will rest loyal to British tradition for all time.

Those Arabs who dislike the solution can be compensated and moved elsewhere. It is claimed that this would be a great injustice to the Arabs. The arguments for and against this contention are manifold and interminable. One hears little about injustice to the Jews. Surely a settlement of the Jewish Question, affecting the Jews of the World, is slight injustice to a handful of Arabs who already have a country many hundred times greater than Palestine.

28.IV.1944. *London*

Weizmann dined this evening, looking tired and old. He is now in his seventieth year. We discussed the various aspects of Zionism. I am glad to say he is now convinced that a sovereign Jewish Palestine is the only solution. I asked him why he had previously favoured partition under the Peel plan. He told me that he had done so because at the time he knew that war was inevitable and he thought that if there was only a small Jewish Palestine, the Jews might have gained by conquest what they





wanted in a general world war. Now that opportunity has passed he is against partition or compromise and wants an undivided Sovereign Jewish State in Palestine.

25.v.1944. *London*

Hearing that Stafford Cripps was interesting himself in Zionism and that he was on the Cabinet Committee which is collecting data on the Jewish problem I went to see him this afternoon at the Ministry of Aircraft Production at Millbank. But I found I had been misinformed. He is deeply interested but has no official connection with it. He was most friendly and sympathetic, but I fear he can do little to help. I expounded my views, insisting that a settlement of the Jewish question must be included in any Peace terms as it was a major problem; also that no settlement could be satisfactory unless the Jews were given sovereignty in Palestine. It could have been done in 1919 and this may be our last chance. He agreed and said he had no doubt that a great effort would be made to solve the Jewish Question in the final peace terms. He did not think a National Home in Palestine would solve the Jewish Question because Palestine could absorb so few; he did not think that Polish or Russian Jews would go to Palestine in such numbers as before the war and that if conditions under which Jews lived in Europe were improved, still fewer would emigrate. He agreed that a Nation must have a home and that that home must be in Palestine. He was in favour of some form of partition. I explained that partition was no solution and would be accepted neither by the Arabs nor by the Jews. He saw no other way than partition which would give the Jews a focal point and at least a spiritual home. I told him he had underestimated the force behind Zionism. He thought Arab opposition would be too strong for us, to which I replied that the Arabs would accept anything from the Allied Powers, especially if Turkey were one of them.

He was seriously perturbed about the growth of anti-semitism but did not think any legislation would help. Much anti-semitism was caused by Jewish characteristics and their social behaviour—not necessarily their fault but their misfortune. He thought that anti-semitism would slowly disappear if dis-





crimination against Jews was checked and agreed that anti-Jewish legislation must be prohibited throughout the world. He thought that those Jews who refused Palestinian citizenship must abdicate their nationality and their religion and must not resist absorption by their adopted country. I said that that entailed abdication and no self-respecting Jew would accept it. I repeated that the only solution to the Jewish problem was a Jewish Palestine.

18.XI.1944. *Berkshire*

Churchill spoke yesterday in the House of Commons on the murder of Lord Moyne and its effect on Zionism. I regard his statement as grossly unjust and as using the action of a small desperate gang of exasperated Jews to whip the whole of Jewry. Churchill knows full well that assassination is not any part of the Zionist policy nor has it ever been. Violence is not a Jewish characteristic. Churchill's denunciation is on a par with Hitler's reaction to the killing of one of his ministers in Paris a few years ago. Hitler blamed the whole of Jewry and increased his bloody persecution and slaughter. Churchill now threatens Zionism with the withdrawal of the support of H.M.G. unless they will eradicate this murderous element from their ranks. What hypocrisy! H.M.G. have consistently endeavoured to wreck Zionism since 1919 and whatever success has attended the efforts of Zionist leaders has been achieved despite lack of support from H.M.G. Less sympathy with the Zionist movement could not have been extended to Jewry, so why pretend to withdraw what has never been given.

Much as I deplore the murder of Moyne as a cowardly and beastly crime, it is understandable as the climax of frustration of a desperate band. Moyne was an open advocate of justice for the Arabs and therefore injustice to the Jews and the motive which prompted Moyne's murder is the direct result of the lack of Government policy in Palestine, of consistent obstruction to Zionist policy and of failure to implement the original intention of the members of H.M.G. who framed the meaningless Balfour Declaration.

When the Arabs were murdering British officials in Palestine for years, were the Arabs as a Nation held responsible, was such





strong language used in the House of Commons deprecating their murderous activities, were they told that H.M.G. would withdraw support and sympathy for them if such actions continued? No, the Arabs, whatever they did, were condoned, even though murder, assassination and violence were political weapons extolled by all Arab peoples.

Is this the time, when the Jewish Nation have and still are suffering more than any other people, when anti-semitism is almost aflame throughout the world, to blame a whole people for the acts of a small murderous gang? I cannot help feeling that Churchill's unwise pronouncement and unjust condemnation is a sop to anti-semitism and an excuse to justify further curtailments of the Zionist policy. The Palestine Administration and the policy of H.M.G. must shoulder the responsibility for the murder of Lord Moyne. Churchill's statement is an attempt to evade that responsibility.

I think it was an error that Weizmann should have assured Churchill that Palestine Jewry 'will go to the utmost limit of its power to cut out this evil from its midst'. Such a statement acknowledges responsibility. It would have been more politic if Weizmann had vigorously disclaimed all responsibility for the murder of Moyne and whilst emphatically deploring and condemning the act, made it clear that H.M.G.'s responsibility is the greater. I believe it is time for plain speaking and a more militant attitude.

I am told on good authority that the Cairo report on the crime, whilst not openly tracing it to the Zionist organization, hinted that they were implicated. Small wonder when almost all officials in Egypt and Palestine are tainted with anti-semitism.

3.VII.1945. *London*

The Weizmanns dined this evening. He has lost much of his old enthusiasm and vitality and I think he feels he is losing grasp of events. He is right. He tells me that some time ago Churchill promised him that, as soon as the German war was finished, the Jewish problem would be tackled and that Jewish sovereignty would be considered. He has now been told by Churchill that it must be put off until the problematical Peace





Conference takes place. More frustration and delay over a problem whose solution is long overdue. Weizmann regards this as a personal failure and intends to resign at the Zionist Congress next month in London. He also tells me that feeling in Palestine has become dangerous and volcanic and that his resignation will be the signal for revolt. This will be aimed, not at the Arabs but at the British. If the Jews resort to violence in Palestine, it will be a catastrophe and will delay any Jewish settlement for generations. It is just what the anti-semites hope. Weizmann says he is powerless to stop it. I am going to try to get together a body of men interested in Zionism who must get an assurance from Churchill that the Jewish problem will be solved at the Peace Conference and that the British Government will press for Jewish sovereignty over Palestine. Armed with this I am prepared to go to Palestine, see the Palestine hot-heads and persuade them to hold their hands. I believe I could do it, for my name stands high in Palestine. I am, therefore, writing tonight to Victor Gollancz, S. S. Hammersley and others to get their views.

Weizmann is no longer in favour of partition but has no objection to the Samaria-Nablus district being removed from Zionist Palestine. I cannot agree. Palestine intact must go to the Zionists. Weizmann declared that he had faith that God's Promise would eventually come true but that clearly he was not destined to act as the Almighty's agent on earth. Somebody else must try. This is the first occasion on which I have heard Weizmann base his arguments on the Old Testament, at any rate to me. I told him that God would not help those who would not help themselves and that continued effort is vital. We must never rest until the Jews get the whole of Palestine. Poor Weizmann is distressed and depressed. It must be heart-breaking for him to see twenty-five years hard work made futile.

24.vii.1945. *London*

Dined with the Weizmanns. I found him tired and worn out with disappointment. The situation in Palestine has worsened. Churchill has broken his pledge to give the Jews sovereignty over Palestine, due no doubt to his fear of the Arabs and any





trouble they might cause; but he does not know the Arabs. They will submit to strength as has been proved on many occasions. Meanwhile the Jews in Palestine are restive and in a dangerous mood. They contain a large element of fairly tough fellows who will stand no nonsense, men who have been through Hitler's Europe. I have suggested to Weizmann that he puts the case of Palestine and 'aggression about to be committed' to the Security Council. It will bring Palestine to the surface, give the Jews publicity, give the British Government a chance to put responsibility on to the Allied Nations, and will bring to the fore the urgent necessity of solving the Jewish Question in the only manner it can be solved—sovereignty over Palestine—and it would provide a valuable test case for the Security Council, placing them on their mettle.

28.IX.1945. *London*

I had a long talk with Weizmann this afternoon. He was tired, ill and has lost his old vitality. The Jewish Question and the Zionist problem are much to the fore and the wildest rumours are flying about—that a Jewish rising in Palestine is imminent, that Truman has demanded increased Jewish immigration into Palestine, that the whole Jewish Question has been referred to the United Nations and that we have asked the United States to form a joint Mandate with us over Palestine and that they have refused to consider it.

The settlement of the Zionist question, i.e. Jewish sovereignty in Palestine, is urgent and is being avoided by H.M.G. As usual they will declare no line of policy though the Labour Government had already pledged itself to support political Zionism. Political promises out of power are always forgotten when in power.* Whitehall is obsessed with objections to a settlement of the Jewish Question—they always have been. At all costs we must not have trouble on our lines of communication with the Far East. We must placate the Arabs and continue to oppress the Jews. There is a general fear, quite unfounded, of the Arabs and all Arab countries. Even in India, it is feared that Jewish aspirations might have an upheaving effect on Indian politics, so let the Jews continue to suffer. Anti-semitism

* See note following this entry.





is rife and increasing, permeating every branch of Whitehall, therefore give the Jews nothing. A spate of Arab propaganda by the Arabs and arabophil Britons appears in the Press and in recent literature. Freya Stark has written a charming book which is pure anti-Zionist propaganda. She makes out that the Arabs kept a truce during the recent war which enabled us to march to victory in North Africa, that the Arabs have been most friendly to us between 1939 and 1945, forgetting a bitterly hostile Egypt, a treacherous rebellion in Iraq, the activities of the Mufti of Jerusalem and many other ugly incidents. She praises the 'adorable inefficiency' of the Arabs and compares Arab youth with the honesty and clean living of the English Public School boy.

I advised Weizmann to argue on the following lines. If the Jews had been given Palestine in 1919 it would have saved hundreds of thousands of Jewish lives on the Continent. Also we should have had during the Second World War a strong and contented Palestine dominating the Near East. We should have had no trouble in Syria and Iraq and we could have saved a huge garrison in Syria and Palestine.

Also every country in Europe and Asia has had to give up a great deal during this war. So much has Britain given up that we are exhausted. The Arabs alone among nations have given up nothing. During both the First and Second World Wars they gained everything and contributed nothing. Lawrence's exploits are of course a romantic myth. Why should not the Arabs give up something to suffering humanity? Palestine is but a small part of the Arab countries. On the other hand the Jews have contributed a great deal during both wars and have suffered more than any other nation. It is gross injustice that they should be refused a home which once was theirs. This simple act of justice is held up for fear of the Arabs and hatred of the Jews. A policy of fear leads nowhere; it is no policy.

Weizmann's present idea is to demand that the British clear out of Palestine, having failed to administer the Mandate. He thinks that once we are out, he can come to a working arrangement with the Arabs. I am not in a position to judge one way or another. But if the Jews use armed force, it will be fatal.





Weizmann knows that but is powerless to stop it. They cannot be strong enough to seize Palestine against British troops and a hostile Arab population all round them.

Even now if the Jewish Question was tackled by the Big Three co-opting Turkey for the purpose, it could be solved. In their names the Arabs would accept anything. But Britain, whose policy has been dilatory and weak in the Near East, is now impotent and can do nothing by herself.

The Labour Party during the election of 1945 made repeated promises to the Zionists that they would get every assistance if returned to power—empty promises to catch votes. Attlee himself during his years of political immaturity wrote in the Daily Herald of November 14th, 1945.

The Labour Party recalls with pride that in the days of the Great War they associated themselves with the ideal of a National Home in Palestine for the Jewish people and that ever since . . . have repeatedly affirmed their enthusiastic support of the effort towards its realization. They . . . will never falter in their active co-operation with the work now going forward in Palestine.

And in September 1958, in the House, of Lords he stated that the creation of the National Home was an error, an instance of altruistic motives prevailing.

Such is the reliability of responsible politicians.

5.x.1945. London

There has been a spate of propaganda on Palestine—books, lectures, letters to the Press, etc.—and several points emerge.

There was a paragraph in the report on the international post-war settlement adopted at the Labour Party's Conference last December. It stated: 'There is neither hope nor meaning in a "Jewish National Home" unless we are prepared to let the Jews, if they wish, enter this tiny land in such numbers as to become a majority'; and that the Arabs, with handsome compensation for their land, should be 'encouraged to move out, as the Jews move in'.

H.M.G. have made no promise to the Arabs beyond that contained in the Balfour Declaration. Other promises have





been almost all fulfilled. The only promise made to the Jews has not been fulfilled.

The Palestine Mandate provides for the 'reconstituting' of the National Home, implying the restitution of the right of the Jewish People to its historic homeland.

The Balfour Declaration is a definite promise to the Jews of the world and safeguards the Arabs of Palestine, not the Arabs of the world.

There is lamentable ignorance of the meaning of Zionism. Many seem to think that any part of the world will suffice for the National Home. It shows utter misunderstanding of the problem. Palestine only can provide that Home.

The Arabs still possess vast areas practically empty.

One hears a lot about Jewish immigration into Palestine. One hears little of the unrestricted Arab immigration into Palestine. There has been a steady flow into Palestine, attracted by Jewish prosperity.

14.XI.1945. *London*

Bevin spoke yesterday on Zionism and the Jewish Question. A great disappointment. The Labour Party had pledged themselves to reverse the White Paper policy and included that pledge in the recent election propaganda but, like most election promises, it was a lie. Bevin's speech is an admission of failure and despair. For twenty-five years successive British Governments have failed to implement their pledge to the Jews and having failed they now have the temerity to say 'every effort has been made', etc. On the contrary every effort has been made to sabotage Zionism and drive the Jews to desperation.

Bevin now announces that H.M.G. have invited the United States to co-operate in setting up a joint Anglo-American Committee of enquiry into Palestine and the whole Jewish Question. We have had this kind of thing before and they have always failed.

Bevin makes some fantastic statements. 'Zionism is a matter of keen interest to ninety million Mohammedans in India.' Utter rubbish. Not one per cent of Indians have ever heard of Palestine nor of Zionism. And Bevin displays an utter misconception of the Zionist movement in suggesting that homes





for the Jews can be found outside Palestine. I find his speech difficult to criticize, being so full of platitudes and generalizations and really meaning nothing at all—completely unconstructive and avoiding the only practical solution and one which in the end will have to be adopted whether H.M.G. or the Arabs like it or not.

It has been a profoundly disappointing day.

Later. After that disjointed fulmination I have again read Bevin's speech. The following points emerge:

The Labour Government's policy runs contrary to their pledges.

There are several mis-statements of fact such as '90,000,000 Mohammedans in India'.

It advocates still further dispersal despite the fact that Palestine has been pledged to the Jews as their home.

It is a complete acknowledgment of failure by the British Government to fulfil their obligations.

It is a complete surrender to the Arabs, every word of the speech denoting fear of the Arabs. Are the rights and burning need of the Jewish Nation to be sacrificed to appeasement?

The speech safeguards Arab rights whilst sacrificing Jewish rights.

The outworn technique of evasion by committee deceives nobody. It compels the Jews to resist.

Bevin states that force will be used against force. It is going to be used against the desperate need of the Jewish Nation and not against the aggressive imperialism of the Arab States.

On what is this fear of the Arabs based? The Arab States not only will not fight, they cannot fight unless aided as they have been in the past by British equipment and British leadership. They have neither air force, navy nor armaments. But they have huge appetites, a tremendous capacity for making a noise and, above all, are the very best and most helpful of British friends. The Labour Government is deceived by this bogey.

Bevin is already prejudiced and prejudices the findings of the Anglo-American Committee by asserting that Palestine cannot provide a sufficient opportunity for grappling with the whole problem.





Return now



The fact must be faced that the world is so inured to Jewish persecution and pogroms that all decent feelings towards these unhappy people are dulled. Only last week several dozen Jews were murdered by fanatical Arabs in Tripoli and hundreds of Jews were ill-treated and several killed in Cairo only a few days ago and all for no reason except anti-semitism. No notice is taken of it. What would happen and what does happen if a single Arab is killed by a Jew? It is considered an outrage. The murder of Jews is just an incident of little import.

Bevin's speech is almost flippant, concealing an insidious emasculation of the whole problem. It envisages still more dispersal, new Jewish wanderings to strange lands, new anti-semitism, more suffering and the continuance of the age-long Jewish tragedy. It perpetuates their permanent minority in all States and this after six million Jews have been murdered in Europe. Bevin and his new Anglo-American Committee may provide temporary alleviation but as a permanent solution it is contemptible, hypocritical and a time-saving device.

I had prayed that this war might have solved the Jewish problem. It seems there is small hope.

14.XI.1945. *London*

Mr Shertok lectured on the Jewish aspect in Palestine this afternoon at Chatham House. He made two good points. First, that Palestine where the Jews have been promised their home is the only country in the world where legal discrimination against Jews persists. Secondly whereas in Java we are using British bayonets to impose a Dutch minority who already have a home, on the people of Java, in Palestine we are using British bayonets to prevent a homeless people entering the country which has been promised them as a home.

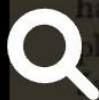
My contribution to *Chaim Weizmann* on his Seventieth Birthday. Published November 1945.

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THE FULFILMENT OF GOD'S PROMISE

It is no mean achievement to reach the full span of man's years on earth and yet remain in harness, retaining virility, enthusiasm, steadfastness and even wisdom. Such achievements





I am utterly disgusted and depressed. Bevin ignores the fact that the Jewish Problem is a world problem and age-long and has not just now arisen from Nazi persecution. He ignores the pledge given that Palestine is to be a National Home for the Jews.

The fact must be faced that the world is so inured to Jewish persecution and pogroms that all decent feelings towards these unhappy people are dulled. Only last week several dozen Jews were murdered by fanatical Arabs in Tripoli and hundreds of Jews were ill-treated and several killed in Cairo only a few days ago and all for no reason except anti-semitism. No notice is taken of it. What would happen and what does happen if a single Arab is killed by a Jew? It is considered an outrage. The murder of Jews is just an incident of little import.

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THE FULFILMENT OF GOD'S PROMISE

It is no mean achievement to reach the full span of man's years on earth and yet remain in harness, retaining virility, enthusiasm, steadfastness and even wisdom. Such achievements have happened before, it is true, but not amid such disappointments, frustrations and obstructions as Dr Weizmann has experienced since 1919, and the difficulties inherent in leading a people and a movement which bristle with problems and which give no rest; a people, moreover, who rank among the most intelligent in the world, whose temperament is both difficult and misunderstood and who have suffered for twenty centuries from an almost world-wide lack of sympathy. Dr Weizmann has fought an uphill battle against great odds for twenty-five years and has laid a foundation in Palestine which nothing can shake. The marvel is not so much that Dr Weizmann should have stayed at the helm during the past twenty-five stormy years, but that the Zionist ship should have withstood the buffetings, not only of Whitehall, but of the vast majority of the civilized world. But Jewry thrives on opposition and persecution, and no better testimony could be found of purity, truth and happiness springing from suffering than in the buoyancy of Zionism under its great leader. For to me there is no shadow of doubt that the Old Testament prophecy will emerge and be fulfilled as a strong, healthy Jewish sovereign State in Palestine at no distant date,

I first met Chaim Weizmann in the War Office in 1918, and since that date we have remained firm friends. At that meeting I was inoculated with Zionism; but it was not necessary. My sympathy had already been drawn towards Zionism for two reasons.

I believed in the Old Testament prophecy. I believed that Christianity itself depended on a Jewish Palestine. I believed that a people whose history and tradition went back for four thousand unbroken years, a people who gave us the Old Testament, our monotheist religion and Jesus of Nazareth, a people who have contributed so much to art and science: that such people should continue to suffer and be homeless when we could alleviate that suffering and grant that home, was to me a disgrace to civilization.





I am convinced that the fundamental basis of Zionism lies deep-seated in religion. Such an aspect is not so manifest as the political and economic factors which are more apparent than the religious factor. I have often thought that insufficient use is made of propaganda on religious lines, for I believe that among Gentiles it would have a great appeal.

In the second place, I regarded Palestine as a cornerstone of our Empire. A strong, healthy and contented Palestine would surely be a tremendous bastion to the Empire. The strategic importance of Palestine requires no stressing. Between 1914 and 1919 its geographical position gave it a decisive importance which has not diminished to-day. In fact, it is no exaggeration to say that, for the future, a strong and friendly Palestine is vital to the future strategic security of the British Commonwealth. It can never be strong and healthy under divided control, still less under any form of Arab government. If any doubts exists on this subject, let them consider what we have done for the Arabs since 1918 and what has been their reaction. Appeasement and favouritism has been the hallmark of our Arab policy. They have been the most-favoured people in Palestine, despite our pledges to the Jews. We have erected two kingdoms and two kings. What has been the result? Rebellion and discontent, utter disregard for responsibilities and loyalties, and treachery. And, above all, we tolerated in Palestine a Grand Mufti bitterly hostile to us, we dared not arrest him for gross treachery, we connived at his escape to Syria, where he continued to plot murder under the protection of an ally and then sought asylum in Iraq, another 'friendly' State. If Dr Weizmann had been guilty of one-hundreth part of the Mufti's iniquities, he would have been arrested forthwith and with zest. It is a fact that whilst the Mufti was sitting comfortably in Jerusalem, plotting against us, intriguing with the French and with disloyal elements of our own Administration, Dr Weizmann, as head of the Zionist Movement to which a home had been pledged by the British Government, was refused entry into Palestine on no other grounds than that his presence in that country would be 'embarrassing to the Palestine Administration'.

Dr Weizmann is not only a Zionist, but also one of the world-



famous biochemists. I consider his tenacity, his leadership and wisdom to be the direct outcome of his scientific background. Never have I met a man who has so consistently and insistently worked and gazed towards his goal. His singleness of purpose, his loyalty to his cause and his faith in the future have never for one moment wavered. He accepts nothing without analysis; he applies the methodical logic of a chemical laboratory to political problems and has amply proved the interwoven duality of science and leadership. Perhaps, unconsciously, Dr Weizmann's scientific training has contributed more than he would admit to the value of his work as leader of the Zionist movement.

I have always felt that the secret of Dr. Weizmann's success as Zionist leader springs from his own personal merits, his lucidity in explanation, his marked intelligence and his personal character. He has that great gift of being able to propound either Zionism or some complex chemical problem so that even an uneducated person might understand. That is a great gift—to be able to descend without condescension. But it is his charm which has endeared his personality to most of us and which alone can account for the valuable contacts he has always made in the highest places and in many countries.

No mention of Dr Weizmann as a man is possible without delving deeply into Zionism. The shameful past history of Zionism is buried in the grave of lost reputations, disloyalties, sabotage and disappointments. Let it remain there to rot with the reputations and consciences of those who permitted racial bias to outweigh political insight, who trod underfoot and threw away one of the most valuable assets ever offered to the British Empire. What of the future?

No peace settlement will be complete without a final solution of the Jewish problem. An allied statement to this effect is long overdue and should have been embodied in the Atlantic Charter. It is a major problem, and affects the future peace of the world, but it is unfortunately a problem which no statesman will face; it is always shelved. The only man who has faced the problem is Hitler, who, in his brutal and bestial manner, has solved it by extermination. Have none of our statesmen something a bit more constructive, or are they afraid of solving the





problem for fear of showing favour to a people to whom favours are foreign?

The Jewish Question must not be left in the air, as it was in 1919. The Balfour Declaration is a compromise, giving with the one hand and taking away with the other. Many constructions have been put on it—it is a document perhaps intentionally vague. In 1919, when in Paris and on the eve of sailing for Palestine, I asked both Lloyd George and Balfour what was their own interpretation of the document and what was their view of the ultimate goal of political Zionism. I was told that they envisaged a Jewish sovereign State emerging from the Jewish National Home promised under the terms of the Balfour Declaration.

We all know what followed. Both Whitehall and Jerusalem seem to have gone out of their way to obstruct and wreck their own policy. The past twenty-five years is one long history of remedies, commissions, suggestions, and arguments, all aimed at sabotaging Zionism, until to-day it means very little. A National Home now means little more than the status of un-invited guests. National Homes in Uganda, in Siberia, have been offered in wilful ignorance of the fundamental basis of Zionism, which rests on a return to Zion. Partition, an evil compromise and no solution, has been suggested. Zionists have been blamed for not coming to some agreement with the Arabs, a shameful attempt to shift the responsibility of solving the Jewish problem on to Jewish shoulders. No Arab is going to come to an agreement with a Zionist. Why should he? If His Majesty's Government cannot implement their policy, why should the Arabs do so? The Arabs know perfectly well that H.M.G. has wrecked Zionism. Why should the Arabs salvage what their sympathizers have wrecked.

The only solution to the Jewish Question is the gift of Palestine to Jewry. It should, and could have been, done in 1919. The Arabs in 1919 would have accepted anything from the Allied and Associated Powers. But if Britain were now to make the gift, the Arabs throughout their territories would rise in rebellion. The poison of spineless vacillation, of lack of policy, of consistent anti-semitism has done its work. The Arabs never had much faith in H.M.G.; what little they had





has vanished. The Jews had complete faith, now evaporated. That is the way of it.

Now is the supreme moment for final solution. It can and must be solved. The issue is clear-out. The Allied Powers must give Palestine to the Jews as their National Home. No peace treaty will be complete without it. An Allied declaration would be accepted by the Arabs. There would, of course, be a howl of indignation, but the main volume of noise would not come from the Arabs, but from anti-semitic Britons. A great injustice will have been righted, a great promise fulfilled, and the British Commonwealth will be buttressed—and God knows we shall want all the buttressing available—by a foundation stone in the Middle East which nothing can shake and which will remain loyal to British interests and tradition for all time.

Those Arabs who dislike it can be compensated and given land elsewhere. It is claimed that this would be a gross injustice to the Arabs. One hears little of Injustice to the Jews. Surely the settlement of the Jewish Question, affecting the Jews of the world, is slight injustice to a handful of Arabs who already inhabit undeveloped territories many hundred times greater than Palestine.

May Chaim Weizmann live to see the fulfilment of God's promise at the hands of the Allied Governments. But, whatever happens, Zionism will owe Chaim Weizmann a debt which will remain unpaid for countless generations.

2.v.1946. *London*

The Palestine Report was published yesterday. I secured a copy of it from the Stationery Office this morning and had to wait in a queue to get it, so great was the demand. It is more favourable to Jewry than I had ever hoped and my first impression is that I like it. The Report deals with the whole Jewish question in Europe connecting it up with the Palestine problem and the Arabs. There are ten recommendations:

- (1) That Palestine alone cannot meet Jewish emigration from Europe. All countries must help.
- (2) That 100,000 certificates be immediately issued for admission to Palestine of Jews who have been the victims of Nazi aggression.





(3) That Palestine shall be neither a Jewish nor an Arab State. That Palestine is a Holy Land and must never be dominated by any one religion.

(Considering the present state of Palestine, with feelings on all sides at explosive force, I cannot see that any other recommendation could have been made. But the door is still left open for some form of Jewish State within the British Commonwealth. That, I think, is implied.

The National Home is definitely recognized. 'The National Home is there. Its roots are deep in the soil of Palestine.')

(4) That the present Mandate be continued pending the execution of a Trusteeship agreement under UNO.

(5) That Arab educational, economic and political advancement be brought up to the level of that enjoyed by the Jews.

(6) That meanwhile the National Home be proceeded with and Jewish immigration be facilitated.

(7) Freedom of sale of land whilst safeguarding the Holy Places. (Here I can see a loophole for a hostile administration. The sale of land is to be uncontrolled provided the interests of smallholders and tenant cultivators are safeguarded. What is a smallholder? One acre, ten acres or 500 acres? That loophole might permit a hostile administration to block any land transfer.)

(I am deeply shocked to see in the Report that there is a Lido complete with jazz band on the Sea of Galilee. However our Administration permitted such a sacrilege is beyond my comprehension. I consider this an insult to Christianity and brings shame on those who permitted it.)

(8) That large scale agricultural and industrial development be undertaken to enable a large population to be supported and raise the standards of living of Jews and Arabs alike.

(9) That the educational system of the Arabs be compulsory and improved.

(10) The need for Peace in Palestine.

To disarm the Jews would entail a major military operation. The arming of the Jews was sanctioned at a time when the Administration acknowledged its inability to defend them.





Moreover if the Jews were to surrender their arms they cannot be replaced except with great difficulty and expense. Any arms the Arabs surrendered can be easily replaced from Syria, Transjordan and Egypt; it would be a negative disarmament. Moreover the Jews have long ago learned not to trust the Administration to carry out disarmament by fair methods.

The verbage of the report denotes American authorship, reluctantly subscribed to by the British Members of the Commission in order to get unanimity. The Report does not appear to have missed any important point except the change in status of Transjordan which H.M.G. achieved whilst the Commission was sitting—a fairly sharp piece of work. Transjordan is part of the mandated territory of Palestine. Transjordan has been given sovereign status under Abdullah. The matter should have been referred to UNO but in their anxiety to ensure that the Jews would not get Transjordan or that the Commission should even recommend anything about Transjordan, H.M.G., in a hurry, went behind the backs of the Commission and, whilst it was sitting, severed Transjordan from Palestine whereas geographically and in every other sense it is Palestine and always has been.

The Report ends with an account of Jewry in Europe and the Middle East. Thousands of Jews are still in camps in Germany under German guards. The report gives a very fair exposition of the Jewish and Arab points of view.

The Middle East Department of the Foreign Office and the Palestine Administration are definitely hostile to Zionism. The F.O. because they imagine that a solid pro-British Arab bloc in the Middle East constitutes the best defence against Russian encroachment. Russia is doing her utmost to get a foothold in the Mediterranean, demanding mandates over Eritrea and Tripoli, stirring up Egypt, Iraq and Syria against Britain and generally trying to undermine British influence or what is left of it. But what the F.O. do not appreciate is that prosperity and a high standard of living offer the greatest insurance against Bolshevism. The Arabs can never, owing to their backward state and low standards, their inherent laziness and dishonesty, their disunity and their lack of desire to improve, give us anything approaching prosperous stability in the





Middle East. The Arabs definitely do not want prosperity if it means progress. King Ibn Saud told the commission he was against development schemes. The Arabs preferred the age-old method of drawing water from wells to turning on a tap from a pipe.

The Jews, on the other hand, are a most progressive and enlightened nation, could give us prosperous stability in the Middle East and would constitute a strong bastion within the British Commonwealth. If we were to give up Egypt, the Canal could be better safeguarded from Palestine or Sinai than from Cyprus, the Sudan or Cyrenaica. Though H.M.G. have long ago forfeited any gratitude from the Jews through their dilatory and obstructive attitude, it is still not too late. But even now our Foreign Office and Palestine Administration are determined to back the Arab—the wrong horse. It is significant that the Arabs are already making overtures to Russia with a view to receiving support for their claims.

Illustrating the stupid and hostile attitude of the Palestine Administration towards Zionism, I have it on the best authority that an official of the Administration told the Commission in evidence that the three main obstacles to the National Home were, first, hostility of the Jewish Agency in Palestine; second, the excellent and high standard of Jewish education; third, that there were three official languages in Palestine.

I have discussed the Report with a few people. Their main theme is that it is one hundred per cent pro-Jew. I have also discovered that many men, hitherto inclined towards sympathy for the Jews, now come down on the Arab side of the fence, flying their true colours and outraged at what they call a grossly unfair and biased report; the Arab reception of the report is bitterly hostile, threatening violence. The Jewish reception is not friendly but obviously surprised at its moderation.

My own opinion is that if the Jews get their 100,000 certificates and the repeal of the land laws, they should get an opportunity to attain a political majority eventually. I have advised the Zionist Organization to accept the Report at once and stop acts of violence provided Britain will immediately implement the Report without quibble and show a genuine desire to build





the National Home in accordance with the terms of the Mandate and the Report; that they cannot and will not disarm until they are satisfied that the recommendations of the Report are being sincerely implemented; and that Jewish disarmament can only take place then alongside genuine Arab disarmament.

But yesterday evening, Attlee, in the House of Commons, destroyed any hope of justice, co-operation or sympathy with the Jews, deliberately throwing out of focus in the public eye an exceptionally fair presentation and solution of a most intricate and world-wide question. He makes the immediate rescue of the Jews in Europe—as though they had not already suffered enough—contingent on Jewish disarmament in Palestine. He said:

'It is clear from the facts presented in the Report regarding the illegal armies maintained in Palestine, and their recent activities, that it would not be possible . . . to admit so large a body of immigrants unless and until these formations have been disbanded and their arms surrendered.'

The Jews armed with the active connivance of the Administration because the latter could not afford them protection. It is a cruel decision to demand disarmament before an act of mercy and justice is undertaken. In any case Attlee should have awaited American reaction to the Report, so that a joint statement on it could have been made by the two governments. His statement has aroused resentment among the Jews and has made them still more hostile and frustrated. It has also encouraged hope among the Arabs and increased their tempo of agitation, violence and resistance. Attlee has grossly and unnecessarily aggravated an already tense situation.

I think it is clear that H.M.G. has no intention of implementing this splendid Report unless forced to do so by the U.S.A. and unless they receive financial and military support. Such a contingency is remote. So what next? That the Jews will eventually get Palestine, I have no doubt, but it will not be through any effort of H.M.G.

The great enemy of Zionism and the Jews is anti-semitism and I believe that to be a symptom of decadence in Christianity. I believe that the persecution of the Jews and the storm of





anti-semitism now sweeping the world, is the prelude to an attack on Christianity. The Jews have been the guardian of the Spirit throughout the ages. They must first be crushed by the forces of darkness, by the false Gods of State and Race. When will the Christian Church realize that the rebuilding of the Holy Land as a Jewish National Home is but a phase in the struggle for the establishment of the Kingdom of God on Earth. And incidentally it would save a great Nation from disaster and greatly enhance our strategic position in the Middle East.

19.VI.1946. *London*

I cannot retain two loyalties, the one to the Jews and their aspirations in Palestine and the other to my beloved British Army. The latter comes before the former which has received a severe blow due to Jewish terrorists having kidnapped five or six British Officers in Palestine. I know the Jews have had immense provocation. I know how much they have suffered not only from the Germans but from the British Government, but kidnapping of officers is hitting below the belt apart from doing their cause great harm. It will increase the flood of anti-semitism now sweeping over the world.

Jewish terrorism in Palestine has once and for all refuted the taunt that Jews would not fight. They are in fact some of the toughest people in the world. My best agent in the 1914-18 war was a Jew—Aaron Aaronssson, a man who feared nothing and had an immense intellect. The Jews have always fought well in a righteous cause and their recent exploits in Palestine prove them to be as tough, as resourceful and brave as any partisans anywhere. I admire them for it but cannot condone the kidnapping of officers as hostages. They must be released without condition before I again turn to Zionism.

1.VII.1946. *London*

The British Army in Palestine have moved, have arrested the executive of the Jewish Agency and have made extensive raids on private property. In view of Jewish terrorism I do not see what else they could have done; but it is most unfortunate for Jewish terrorism which is the direct outcome of British misgovernment and broken promises. But arresting the leading





men of the Jewish Agency is drastic. When Arab terrorism swept Palestine and British officials were being murdered, we did not arrest the Arab executive and failed to arrest the Mufti though a warrant was out against him and we knew where he was. If we had taken such drastic action against the Arabs when they threatened the peace, we should have never reached the pitch of misgovernment in Palestine which now exists.

H.M.G. insisted on the recent Commission and now that they have the Commission's Report they still refuse to act. There is going to be a major tragedy in Palestine; the Jews have in the past been wonderfully patient and tolerant; I am not in the least surprised that they have been driven to violence. The Jews owe nothing to Great Britain, the Arabs owe everything. And still we continue Hitler's policy of extermination against these unfortunate people. Have we no shame or pity? I am following events in Palestine with the deepest concern for I fear our people are going to hand out the rawest deal to Jewry which they have ever suffered and I am thoroughly ashamed of Attlee and his gang of appeasers.

12.VII.1946. *Cornwall*

From all accounts Palestine and the Jewish problem is going from bad to worse. The recent move by the Army will not help but only lead to further exasperation. It was a stupid move to arrest the executive of the Jewish Agency. When a great people are fighting for their freedom after years of persecution and broken promises, they are not going to succumb to such treatment at the hands of the nation which has served them ill. We must now expect something really big, the seizing of government or a major military action involving huge casualties. The Jews are neither stupid nor cowards. In general intelligence and imagination they excel our people. And it is an evil day for us when we pit our brains and our strength against that of the Jews. And still the British Government have no policy. A country without a policy will never achieve anything against a people with a very definite policy and determined to carry it out.

25.VII.1946. *London*

The Holy Land is once more the scene of outrage, violence and





terrorism, this time in Jerusalem where King David's Hotel was blown up by the Jews on the 22nd. It contained the offices of Military Headquarters and the Palestine Government; casualties have been heavy, over 100 people killed, and many injured. Such acts cannot be defended but they can be excused. I can never forget that the Jews are a great nation fighting for their freedom; that they have been betrayed and frustrated by every British Government since 1919, that they have suffered at the hands of the world more than any other nation during the past twenty-five years, that they have during that period been the victims of terrorism and sabotage and that they have been driven to acts of violence mainly because the British Government have been unable to make up their mind on policy.

The British Press, the Government and the Palestine Administration blame the Jewish Agency which have shown weakness in dealing with their extremists. *The Times* of to-day says it is impossible to acquit the Agency of failure to recognize and avert the peril of terrorism. The Government have issued a White Paper showing evidence of the Jewish Agency's connivance in terrorism—not a very convincing document. The Jewish Agency claims that the telegrams quoted in the White Paper were neither sent from Jerusalem nor received in London, and insinuates fraud.

The Times makes one extraordinary statement to-day. It says that Britain has shown herself to be the best and steadiest friend the Jews have ever had. What perversion and blindness to facts. Hitler's method of dealing with the Jews was direct and violent. The British Governments since 1919 have insidiously sabotaged Zionism with painful consistency, have broken every promise they have made to the Jews and have backed the Arabs against the Jews; and whilst pretending to sympathize with the Jews, they have obstructed and frustrated them at every turn; their policy has been entirely negative. Is it any wonder that at long last this patient and peace-loving people should have turned to violence?

Terrorism is a sickness of the body politic; and that sickness is the direct outcome of bad government and lack of policy.

We arrested the heads of the Jewish Agency. Did we arrest the Mufti after repeated murders? If the Jews kill British





soldiers there is an outcry. If the Arabs murder British soldiers in Egypt there is no reaction.

The British Government are to blame for terrorism in Palestine. I cannot blame the Jews.

It will avail us nothing to arrest more Jews and draft more troops into Palestine. Fifty divisions will not crush the Jewish spirit.

28.VII.1946. *London*

Dined at the Dorchester with Simon Marks and the Weizmanns.

Naturally we spoke on Zionism. Weizmann most depressed at seeing the whole of his life's work crumbling. But Zionism cannot be killed so easily. A nation fighting for its freedom cannot be crushed. And the Jews are one of the greatest among nations, a first-class power without a home. I believe that the Jews, if given their home in Palestine, could make a greater contribution to civilization than any other people. How can they contribute anything in dispersal? If the Jews are not soon satisfied by a solution which they regard as equitable, there is going to be such an outburst of violence as will astonish the world; something much worse than the blowing up of King David's Hotel.

Jewish terrorism has given the lie to the common belief that the Jew is not a fighting man. He has proved himself to be the match of British soldiers not only in pluck but in resourcefulness and intelligence.

I like Simon Marks; a very kind little man, most intelligent and with a good type of humour. I should like to see more of him for it is a pleasure talking to him.

28.VII.1946. *London*

Lieutenant-General Sir Evelyn Barker, the British Commander in Palestine, has instructed British Soldiers 'to have no social intercourse with Jews'.

This is a most shameful and direct incentive to anti-semitism, just at a time when it is least justified. We were not even asked to hold the Germans in contempt. If the Jews get Barker, he deserves all he gets; in any case he should be removed from his command for such an inhuman order.





If a British Officer had issued such an order with reference to Moslems, he would be at once recalled. Why is he allowed to say such things about the Jews?

2.VIII.1946. *Wiltshire*

Two days debate on Palestine and the Jews, but nobody got anywhere. There was no suggestion that the Jews are a great nation fighting for their freedom—and fighting against the one country which prides itself in assisting nations to achieve freedom.

There was a dangerous tendency in the Commons to blame the Jews for what has happened whereas successive British Governments since 1919 must share responsibility for the present chaotic and explosive state of Palestine and the present Socialist Government must take their full share of blame for the immediate situation which has got out of hand. No policy has been affirmed, no solution reached, no finality achieved. The Government are prepared to carry out their four-partition scheme provided the U.S.A. will co-operate. If not they will abandon the mandate and move troops out. Abandon Palestine to anarchy and bloodshed! Same as Egypt and India. It is a glaring admission of failure, unprecedented in the history of our Empire..

I was shocked to hear members of the Commons bring up the murder of Moyne. There was no mention of the murder of Stack by the Arabs and of many other murders of British soldiers and high-placed officials and no mention of the Mufti and his criminal activities.

12.XI.1946. *London*

The King opened Parliament to-day; just before lunch I was rung up by an unknown man who asked if he might come and see me. He was speaking from a call box near my house. He refused to say his business but mentioned Palestine. So I asked him to come round. He arrived, a young man with fair hair and blue eyes, not in the least like a Jew. He said he was a Palestinian Jew and that he knew I was most sympathetic with Zionism and probably the only Gentile in London whom he could trust. He asked me to guarantee I would not give him away as he said he had entered this country without permission



and that he was wanted in Palestine in connection with terrorism. He had been sent to London for the purpose of restraining certain young Jewish hotheads who were known to be in London and though Irgun had decided not to be active in England they were not so sure that some of these hotheads might not do something stupid and bring down the wrath of all Englishmen and utterly destroy Zionism. He guaranteed that Irgun had no organization in Britain. The Irgun had asked him to get into touch with me and try to stop the spate of anti-semitic propaganda emanating from Scotland Yard. He sounded true and sincere. I was taken aback.

I said I would do anything to help the Jews, but I did not wish to get mixed up with the terrorists. I could not become a Post Office between the Home Office and Terrorists. I had two loyalties, one to the Jews and another to my country; I had no wish to doublecross either. I must think it over and see what I could do to help. He emphasized that public opinion is being fanned into flame against Jews by Scotland Yard propaganda; that is true. Even *The Times* has issued statements to the effect that they anticipate Jewish terrorism in London, that all important persons have special guards, that armed plain clothes men are mixing with the crowd to-day and that Scotland Yard had received many anonymous letters threatening violence. Such information is not invented by *The Times*. I told the man to come and see me again on the 19th and I would tell him what I would do. It has placed me in a bit of a jam.

27.xi.1946. *London*

The strange Jew I saw on the 12th came to see me again on the 19th and confirmed what he had already told me. I told him I would see the Home Office and try to get them to publish some antidote to the anti-semitic propaganda they had already published. That seemed to satisfy him and he was grateful. I repeated my promise to him that no trap would be laid for him.

I was at the Home Office yesterday and explained the whole situation. They were anxious to stop anti-semitism in London and seemed very conscious of its dangers but denied their responsibility. I pointed out many paragraphs in *The Times* which could only have emanated from Scotland Yard. They told





the official denials had been issued. I asked to see them and, of course, they could not be produced. None have been issued. He said they have to take precautions. Of course they must, but there is no need to frighten the public and inflame anti-semitism. The Home Secretary agreed but all that will happen is a talk with Scotland Yard and nothing will be done.

I was asked to meet M.I.5 at the War Office that same afternoon. I met A. J. Kellar; he seemed to know his job and I liked him. I told him all about my Jew friend and extracted a promise that no trap would be laid for him. I explained my difficulties, conflicting loyalties. Kellar said his main concern was to get into touch with the Jewish terrorist organization in London. I told him there was no regular organization, but there were many young and irresponsible Jews who might start anything at any time. He begged me to let him get into touch with my Jew friend. To that I gave an emphatic No.

This morning Linton, secretary of the Zionist Organization, came to see me. I asked him to. He confirmed what the Jew had told me and said his organization 'had their ears very close to the ground' and were terribly anxious to nip in the bud any attempt to start something in London.

20.II.1947. *London*

The Government have decided to refer the whole of the Palestine-Jewish question to the United Nations without any constructive suggestions. It is the complete abdication of Britain's moral influence in the world and an equally complete admission of failure. It can only incite terrorism in Palestine to new acts of violence, drive thousands of Jews into the ranks of the terrorists, and produce a state of war in Palestine. Why do not the Jews refer their case to the Security Council as a counterblast to Bevin's inept policy? Act 34 of the Charter authorizes the Security Council to take cognizance of any dispute which 'might lead to international friction'. The Palestine impasse is just such a situation which requires a decision by the Security Council; if referred to the Council it could be dealt with at once; by referring the question to U.N.O. a decision must wait till the autumn which will inevitably increase violence by both parties.





26.III.1947. *London*

My contact with Jewish Terrorists saw me to-day and asked me if I would be so kind as to make out three lists for him:

(a) Those who have in the past been most responsible for sabotaging Zionism.

(b) Those who are now most responsible for denying Jewry their rights in Palestine.

(c) Those British Agents who would be most active in suppressing terrorism in Britain.

I am afraid I was very rude indeed and sent him away with his tail well tucked between his legs. But what an opportunity!

I am thankful to say he sails to the United States tomorrow. Or does he?

31.XII.1946. *London*

Dined with Weizmann at the Dorchester; he has just returned from the Basle Congress. He is much improved in health and pretends he is glad to have given up the Presidency of the Organization. He still has faith in H.M.G., a policy which he maintains is the only possible one. I thoroughly disagree with him on that point. No British Government is ever going to give Palestine to the Jews or redeem the Balfour Declaration; they are much too afraid of the Arabs, much too afraid to come to any decision and are steeped in anti-semitism.

Here are some hurried notes.

The Basle Congress concluded on Christmas Eve. They decided that Palestine must be a Jewish Commonwealth. They also decided that they had no faith in the British Government and would boycott the Palestine Conference in London.

This led to the deposition of Weizmann. It will be found easier to depose a man of Weizmann's calibre than to find a substitute. Weizmann did not seek re-election. Weizmann has always been in favour of a policy of negotiation. This he has followed for thirty years and look at the result. Sabotage, broken promises and exasperation.

The presidency of the World Zionist Movement is now in abeyance. It will be a disaster if it goes to America.





Churchill advises giving up the Mandate. This would be an admission of failure and would lower British prestige to a dangerous level. God knows it is low enough as it is.

Both the Jewish and the Palestine Questions are chaotic. H.M.G. have only themselves to thank for the impasse.

Britain is now the oppressor of a great people fighting for their freedom. It seems to be a role only too common since the Boer War.

Why must the Palestine Conference have delegates from Egypt, Iraq, the Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Transjordan and the Yemen? Why not also from Persia, India, Algeria and Morocco?

H.M.G. have shown no signs of sympathy with the Jewish point of view which is the view to which they are pledged. What purpose can then be served by Jewish co-operation? H.M.G. have for years shown themselves to be out of sympathy with Zionism and have proved themselves to be enemy No. 1.

There are two types of terrorism. There is that of a totalitarian government exerted to force its will on an unwilling people; and there is terrorism exerted by a frustrated and exasperated minority knowing that justice is on their side. The latter type is a healthy sign of vigour and determination.

1.VIII.1947. *London*

Two days ago the Palestine Government executed three Jewish terrorists, caught whilst attacking Acre Gaol. A just conviction and sentence. The terrorists kidnapped two British sergeants about a fortnight ago and announced their intention to hang them if the sentence on the Acre Jews was carried out. The bodies of the two sergeants were found, hanged, yesterday. It is a ghastly retaliation and a brutal act. I am terribly sorry for those two men who only did their duty and I am terribly sorry for our soldiers in Palestine who have to carry out this revolting policy of the Government. The real men responsible for the killing of those two sergeants are the politicians who sit in Downing Street, the Government of this country and ultimately the British public. All my sympathy is with the Jews who have been driven by apathy, anti-semitism and broken promises into a state of exasperation. If I were a Jew I should be a terrorist, a violent one, and I would aim at Whitehall.





The Indonesians, a small nation, are fighting the Dutch for their independence. They have committed atrocities on a par with Palestine terrorists but we are not shocked. On the contrary, there are demonstrations against the Dutch in India and Australia, and Bevin condemns Dutch efforts to restore order. But in Palestine we have a still smaller nation fighting for their freedom, we are doing precisely what the Dutch are doing in Java and Parliament and the British Press are shocked at Jewish retaliation. Also the Jews have suffered much more persecution than Indonesia has ever dreamed of and have been led to believe by successive British Governments that they will be given a home in Palestine. We have turned their home into a shambles and are perpetuating Hitler's policy of extermination.

2.IX.1947. *London*

The United Nations Special Committee have now published their report or rather four reports, as could only be expected from so many nations. There is nothing new. Some prefer partition, others federation, etc. Meanwhile nothing gets settled. The Jewish problem and the situation in Palestine are not bettered one atom. If only our socialist Government had a little initiative, a little strength and a little ability to see beyond their socialist dreams and false gods.

Early in 1948, I was crossing Arabia from the Persian Gulf to the Red Sea, therefore completely out of touch with events in Palestine.

4.I.1948. *Arabia*

I have questioned many people in the Sudan and here about the Palestine situation and Arab reaction to partition. Without exception the answers I have received have been tainted by violent hebraphobia. I must be careful, because Jews are hated in this country and if I get the reputation of being sympathetic to the Jews I shall of course be considered hostile to the Arabs and that might prejudice our freedom in this country where tolerance of political and religious views is unknown. I shall continue to ask questions and register replies but shall not voice my own views. It is clearly useless doing so, for nothing





will convince the Hebraphobe that the world owes the Jews justice, nor would it convince the Pro-Arabs that Zionism is anything but a horrible injustice and a danger to the world.

Anthony Eden is due here soon and goes on to Riyadh to see the King. No doubt H.M.G. are perturbed by the threats voiced by all Arab countries to conduct a Holy War against the Jews. But Arabs bark much harder than they bite; though Egypt, Transjordan and Iraq can send a few men into Palestine the organization will be rotten, supply will be inefficient and it will be a half-hearted show. The Arab Legion, officered by British officers, could no doubt take Jerusalem, but they will never conquer the Jews. No, I have little faith in Arab strength, Arab efficiency or Arab determination. But I have implicit faith in the Jews being able to hold their own and a bit more in Palestine.

Meanwhile violence and murder are the order of the day in Palestine. One hears nothing of British troops trying to keep order. Apparently, having done our best to disarm the Jews, we are prepared to abdicate and abandon them to their fate and the Holy Land to anarchy; whilst arming the Arabs as hard as we can. I seldom felt so ashamed of my country.

Britain has earned the hatred of both Jew and Arab. It looks as though the U.S.A. would earn similar hatreds; from the Arabs as the main instigator of partition and from the Jews for refusal to implement partition. Both Britain and the U.S.A. have fallen between two stools, the basic reasons being lack of policy, and oil. What a sordid dilemma it is and how easily it might have been avoided.

7.III.1948. *Arabia (4 miles from Mecca)*

I received the following telegram from Weizmann dated from New York on December 3rd, presumably after United Nations had granted Jewish sovereignty over a partitioned Palestine. I was most gratified to have been remembered by my old and valued friend in the moment of triumph. The cable read:

To you dear friend we owe so much that I can only express it in simple words—May God Bless You.



23.iv.1948. *Haifa*

We arrived at Haifa, on my way back from Arabia, at dawn and tied up. There is a company of Coldstream Guards on board; some of the officers knew Dan* and we spoke about him; that pleased me beyond measure; this company disembarked here to the tune of a full-scale battle along the sea-front between the Arabs and the Jews. By 4 p.m. the Arabs were on the run and the Jews in control of the port except for the small depot still occupied by the British Army. The Coldstreams walked right into the fight, their job being to protect Government stores. Both rifle fire and the ping of bullets continued throughout our stay in Haifa with an occasional mortar shell or bomb. Now I must relate my grossly irregular behaviour in Haifa. I realized that the Jews were going to be strained to the utmost with seven Arab States invading them from all sides and with an unsympathetic Great Britain. I was quite determined to help if even in a small way. A private soldier in the Coldstream detachment knew Dan and he was sick and unable to land with the detachment. I went to his cabin and asked him if he would lend me his complete equipment, rifle, uniform and ammunition to which he agreed with a typical 'Take the whole bloody lot, so far as I'm concerned'. So I took the 'whole bloody lot' and marched ashore behind the Coldstream detachment, unnoticed by the officers and falling-in in the rear. I had no difficulty in getting ashore and on leaving the breakwater I broke away from the detachment of Coldstreams and walked to where I could hear firing. I soon found the front line—about twenty Haganah well entrenched in sand. So I ran up, scraped a hole and lay low for a bit. I had my field glasses and sighted my rifle on an empty barrel, some 200 yards away. Some Arabs, about 600 yards away, had fired at me as I ran up to take position beside the Haganah, so I crawled forward by degrees taking every advantage of folds in the ground and eventually got a fine little scrape in the sand no more than 250 yards from some Arab snipers. Three Haganah did likewise and we four opened fire. I saw an Israeli looking at me and he said something which I did not hear; he then shouted to his friends and yelled at me in

* My son.





Hebrew. I paid no attention. My first shot was a bull's-eye and there was a cheer from the Haganah as the man rolled over and writhed about on the sand. I crept forward to a better position and found I could take the Arabs in the flank; which I proceeded to do. Two more paid the penalty. The Haganah kept up with me and between us we got five more and one got up and ran towards us with his arms above his head so we captured him. There were now some twenty Arabs firing at us, at ranges between 500 and 600 yards; so we crept on and bagged four more: I had a narrow squeak when a bullet hit my little parapet and spluttered me with sand. We were doing well when one of the Haganah shouted at me, but not understanding I paid no attention. He then got up and ran back. About an hour later, after we had disposed of all the Arabs in front of us, a Coldstream officer came along, asked who the hell I was and on recognizing me, he ordered me back to the ship, which I had to obey; but it mattered little as by then I had fired all my 200 rounds. So off I went, rather sheepishly, and without further incident got aboard, returned my uniform to my friend, cleaned his rifle and then ordered a large bottle of champagne which we shared in his cabin. Altogether I had had a glorious day. May Israel flourish!

We sailed from Haifa at dusk just as a British destroyer escorted into the harbour a Jewish refugee ship which will be turned back to Cyprus. It is grossly unfair that the Jews are not allowed to bring in their own nationals when the Arab legion, armed, equipped, financed and officered by Britain, together with army units from Iraq, Syria, Saudi Arabia and Egypt are on the march into Palestine to attack them. The whole attitude of our Foreign Office and Bevin disgusts me. It is not only grossly unfair but downright stupid and contrary to the best interests of England.

Went to bed very depressed; but just wait till the Jews get going; they'll smash the Arab League which is disorganized, inefficient and full-to-burst of brave words. Brave deeds are unknown to the Arab. The rotten Egyptian Army is going to take a real good thrashing.

Thank God none of my cabin companions snore; they are all Egyptians.





It may be useful to enumerate the High Commissioners of Mandated Palestine:

British High Commissioners of Mandated Palestine

1920–1925	SAMUEL
1925–1928	PLUMER
1928–1931	CHANCELLOR
1931–1938	WAUCHOPE
1938–1944	MACMICHAEL
1944–1945	GORT
1945–1948	CUNNINGHAM





CHAPTER VI

Israel

18.v.1948. *London*

The Zionists have proclaimed a Jewish State in Palestine with Shertok as Foreign Minister and Weizmann as President. Our Mandate terminated on the 15th, which was the signal for the invasion of Palestine by Egypt, Iraq, Transjordan, Lebanon and Syria. The Transjordan Frontier Force, officered by British officers, is in action on the Judaeian Highlands accompanied by a special correspondent of *The Times*, whilst Cadogan tells the Security Council that he doubts whether there is a threat to international peace, that he would find difficulty in pointing out the aggressor and that the Transjordan Frontier Force is in Transjordan.

Never in the history of England has there been such a shameful abdication after years of shilly-shallying, no policy and no decision beyond those prompted by anti-Jewish sentiment. Our Mandate over Palestine was something more than other mandates. Palestine is a unique country with unique problems. The Palestine Mandate was unique. We have missed a chance which will never recur and have earned the eternal hatred of Jewry when we might have won their eternal respect. We have lost the strategic value of Palestine which will cost us dear. The whole of Palestine and Jewry have been hopelessly bungled and I am thoroughly ashamed of our Government, our Press, our people and my religion.

Since 1918 I have continually pressed for Jewish Sovereignty in Palestine. Both Balfour and Lloyd George intended it. A





Jewish State could have been erected in Palestine in 1919 or 1920 without any difficulty. But after that, officials in Palestine and Whitehall, poisoned by anti-Jewish feeling, never gave Zionism a chance. Britain and her officials sided with the Arabs and now throws over the Mandate, telling the Jews and Arabs they can fight it out, in the belief that the Arabs will win. Whilst placing every obstacle in the way of the Jews, no obstacles have been placed in the way of the Arabs. On the contrary, Egypt, Transjordan, Iraq and Saudi Arabia have received arms from the British Government and their troops have been trained by British officers.

Our Government now hide their shame under the excuse that they could not get the Jews and Arabs to agree on a just settlement. In the early days of Zionism such a settlement could easily have been reached but the British Government would not have it, knowing that the Arabs might get the worst of the bargain. Now, having fanned Arab nationalism into flame and exasperated the Jews, they complain that the two parties cannot agree. No, we have abandoned the Mandate because we were too weak to impose on Palestine any form of partition; further we were unwilling to give the Jews the slightest chance of establishing a Jewish State. In abandoning the Mandate, British Officials have at last come out into the open, siding with the Arabs and exposing their bitter hatred of Jewry. We scuttled out of Palestine because we thought it a certainty that the Arabs were sufficiently strong to achieve what successive weak British Governments and Palestine Administrations have been trying to do for over twenty-five years, namely, liquidate Zionism.

Britain is now the champion of the Arab League and is prepared to carry on the vile policy which Hitler initiated against the Jews.

To-day the Security Council, sitting in America, is bewildered and impotent. They have asked both sides in Palestine what is happening. Just an excuse to gain time. Cadogan finds it difficult to find an aggressor. Surely invasion is the essence and proof of aggression. Just another excuse to support the Arab League and obstruct the Jews.

This has been written in great haste. It is too disconnected and





muddled. But I am very angry at the injustice of it all and have a temperature of 101 with an attack of glandular fever; so now to bed.

In The Times of May 22nd, 1948, appeared this letter:

Sir,

Major-General Sir Edward Spears, in stating that Zionism has endangered British bases in the Mediterranean and represents a threat to British strategic interests, surely conveniently forgets not only that many of the present Arab political and military leaders, including Fawzi El Kawukji and the Mufti, either spent the war in Germany working for Hitler or had to be interned by us, but forgets also what happened in the Middle East between 1939 and 1945.

In 1944, Brigadier Glubb (now leading the Arab Legion in its assault against Jerusalem, and no pro-Zionist surely), writing when the Arab war effort was still close enough to defy even Foreign Office attempts to romanticize it, said:

‘At the time of these operations every Arab was perfectly convinced that Britain was finished for ever and that it would only be a question of weeks before Germany took over Arabia. The Iraqis were perfectly sure of this or they would not have declared war on us . . . in brief, during the six weeks before the fall of Baghdad every Arab was convinced that we were done for. Every Arab force previously organized by us, mutinied, and refused to fight for us or faded away in desertions.’ (Pages 214–215 of Somerset de Chair’s *The Golden Carpet*.)

No doubt when Glubb wrote this he would remember (what General Spears has forgotten) that, although the Jewish population in Palestine was only half that of the Arab, more than twice the number of Jews volunteered for service to protect our Mediterranean position; and that at the time when Iraq declared war against us, and British tanks had to be driven into the Abdin Palace yard to compel King Farouk’s consent to the appointment of a Pro-British Government under Nahas Pasha, Hagana men were being dropped as British agents in enemy territory, that Hagana was recognized by





G.H.Q. as the one reliable local defence force and Palestine the one base whose loyalty was never in doubt for a moment.

And what now? No doubt if British officers and British supplied tanks and aeroplanes continue the destruction of Jewish settlements and life we shall earn the bitter hatred of the Jews of Palestine. Is that however surprising—a symptom of Zionist original sin? It is a policy choice for the British Government which will determine whether Israel becomes once more an ally, as in the war, or an enemy beleaguered by British arms and equipment who must look elsewhere for aid for sheer survival. And may I say that our attitude—that Israel must show itself capable of functioning before being recognized by us—would sound more honest if it were not troops trained and equipped by British military missions, and the British officered and subsidized Arab Legion, which were at war with Israel to prevent precisely that functioning?

Does public opinion at home appreciate (as it does abroad) that every tank and aeroplane now being used by the Arabs has been supplied by the United Kingdom; that the British air mission is still functioning in Iraq; that British missions are now working, training and re-equipping Arab armies in Saudi Arabia and Iraq; that between 1945 and 1947 we supplied Egypt alone with forty military aircraft, thirty-eight scout cars, and 298 carriers, apart from a great quantity of small arms and light equipment; that the Arab Legion now waging war is wholly subsidized by us with £2,000,000 a year and is commanded by thirty-eight British officers; that Transjordan, under the March 1948 treaty, is bound to 'undertake not to adopt in regard to foreign countries an attitude which is inconsistent with the alliance or might create difficulties for the other party thereto'; that no word of protest has come from the British Government at the Arab invasions, but that the Jews within the boundaries given them by the United Nations partition decision (which still stands) are denied arms by the British?

Finally, the Foreign Office viewpoint conveyed by your Diplomatic Correspondent on May 20th that 'it should not be assumed that Transjordan is acting as an aggressor until it can be shown that she has acted aggressively towards another State' (obviously meaning a State recognized by us) smacks a





little too much of the legalistic chicanery of the 'thirties which reduced Japan's war on Manchuria to the status of an 'incident' and in so doing destroyed the League of Nations. Will we never learn that we cannot subsidize aggression in the Middle East and oppose it in Greece or Persia—that to climb now into the grandstand and attempt to wash our hands of responsibility of the slaughter perpetrated by our Spitfires and British trained and officered Arab troops is conduct utterly unworthy of the traditions of a great nation and indicates a moral degeneration within the political leadership of this country far more alarming than any signs of a merely materialistic or economic decline?

I am, Sir, yours, etc.

Lyall Wilkes.

House of Commons, May 20th, 1948.

21.v.1948. *London*

I cannot throw off this glandular fever which makes me feel depressed and miserable. However the news that the R.A.F. had shot down five Egyptian planes in Israel did, I think, reduce my temperature. The British Press is full of Arab invasion and Arab victories. Any Jewish successes are printed very small. But all that has happened is that Arab armies have invaded Arab Palestine unopposed whereas the Jews have captured Acre. I doubt much whether there will be any co-ordination in Arab policy or invasion. Iraq and Transjordan may pull together but both Syria and the Lebanon and above all Saudi Arabia mistrust Abdullah; Egypt has quite enough on her hands without invading Palestine but she has done so, I suppose, to keep an eye on Abdullah and to distract public attention from acute domestic issues in the Delta.

Every day favours the Jews and I really believe I shall live to see Israel established in Palestine; it has for long been one of my ambitions.

Meanwhile Russia, the U.S.A. and South Africa have recognized Israel. We should do so at once but still fear the Arabs. This recognition has shaken the Arab League, probably ruined it if there was ever much to ruin. It has also exploded the wild dreams of the Jerusalem Mufti. One thing seems certain now; the Jews will retain what partition has given them





and if the Arabs persist on invasion, then Israel will dominate a greater Palestine which will surely embrace Transjordan and possibly parts of Syria and Sinai.

26.v.1948. *London*

Weizmann has seen Truman and has asked for the lifting of the embargo on arms to the Middle East and for a dollar loan. It seems he may get both. Meanwhile the Arabs have refused to agree to a truce in Palestine, thereby defying the Security Council. There are thirty-seven British officers serving with the Arab Legion in Palestine against the Jews and Bevin is lying in the House when he says none of them are directing artillery against Jerusalem. I happen to know that four are doing so. And Alexander, our Minister of Defence, has the impertinence to say in the House that our evacuation of Palestine does not affect our strategic interest in the security and stability of the Middle East. The Jews are being blamed for everything and the supporters of the Arabs, realizing they are riding a losing horse, are becoming frantic. The fact is, the Jews have won. Israel is established and thank God I have lived to see it. Wrote to Weizmann who is in Washington.

1.vii.1948. *London*

The most shameful chapter of Britain's history closed yesterday when the last British troops left. The Jews are now free and except for the backing in money, equipment and men which we are giving the Arabs, the ring is clear for a straight fight. Bernadotte, the mediator, with the best intentions in the world, is trying to solve the problem in Rhodes; but the truce is but a sham and fighting will break out next week. The Palestine problem can only be decided by blood. The Jews, at the last moment, stole two Churchill tanks from the army. How could that happen without collusion. I'm delighted they got them. I wish they could get a destroyer.

What have we left behind in Palestine? A Transjordan king and government which would collapse if British support were withdrawn, an Arab army under the command of British officers and equipped by Britain and a heritage of complications the end of which cannot be visualized. Worse, much worse, we





have left behind a hatred which will not die for generations.

We allowed our machinery of Government to dissolve without making provision for the continuance of essential services and we left without any regret whatsoever on the part of any section of the community. We slink out hated and despised by all. It is a condemnation unparalleled in British history.

And for this we must thank Ernest Bevin and his advisers in the Foreign Office. Whatever good qualities Bevin may have, this conniving at driving the Jews from Palestine is a grievous blot on his record.

And this same Foreign Secretary said publicly just before the Second World War 'We detest the Franco regime'. Who is We? And why detest a regime which stopped communism gaining control in south-west Europe and which refused Hitler entry into Spain to attack Gibraltar. Bevin might equally well have said 'We detest the Jews'.

5.vii.1948. *London*

Count Bernadotte's much advertised plan is federation, a suggestion made frequently in the past but unworkable, unacceptable and showing an utter ignorance of Zionism. Bernadotte's mission was doomed to failure from the start. There can be no mediation in Palestine.

9.vii.1948. *London*

The truce is finished and fighting has broken out again, the Egyptians being the aggressors. I am sure that a solution achieved by war will be territorially a much better solution for Israel than the partition offered by the United Nations last November.

Bernadotte has failed to grasp the meaning of Zionism or that Palestine is already a sovereign state without any intention of abandoning her sovereignty. Bernadotte's plan, an amazingly stupid and ill-advised plan, probably suggested to him by some British officer, includes the giving of Jerusalem to the Arabs and depriving the Jews of Haifa. These are the two keys of Israel, fundamental and vital. To abandon Haifa and Jerusalem makes nonsense of Zionism. The idea of Jerusalem becoming an Arab city revolts me, arousing the old fire of crusader. With Arab intolerance of religion and the Holy City, the Holy





Christian City, in the hands of intolerant fanatics, the Middle East goes back to the dark ages.

And both Bernadotte and the United Nations still appeal for peace. How can they expect either Jew or Arab to listen when these armchair pundits, oozing resolutions, plans, vetos, etc., do not understand the meaning of the Arab-Jew conflict and only the U.S.A. and Britain care. Uruguay, Paraguay, Bolivia, China, Abyssinia! Good God! What utter tomfoolery it is.

15.VII.1948. *London*

Bernadotte flew to America and stated his case and that of the Jews and Arabs to the Security Council advocating an extension of the truce under threat of sanctions. Cadogan, who when Transjordan, Egypt, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Syria and Lebanon invaded Palestine, could not see any sign of aggression, now when Jewish military successes indicate that they will soon dominate the situation and capture Jerusalem, denounces the Jews as aggressors. Bernadotte is no less pro-Arab. He advocates an indefinite truce during which Jewish immigration would be brought to a standstill and the arms embargo would be maintained. It looks as though our Foreign Office, having backed the Arabs to over-run Palestine and wipe out Zionism and having by now been disillusioned by Arab weakness and incompetence, are accusing the Jews of doing the very thing which our F.O. encouraged the Arabs to do.

It is my earnest prayer that Jewish military successes during the next few days will place them in a position where they can snap their fingers at the United Nations, Bernadotte and the Arab League.

Bernadotte runs a grave risk of assassination.

16.VII.1948. *London*

After weeks of fighting in Palestine it looks as though the Security Council is going to treat it as a breach of the peace and to invoke sanctions. When this was first proposed during the Arab Legion's assault last May against Jerusalem, it was vigorously opposed by the British Government. But last Tuesday we accepted the American Line and in doing so tacitly admitted the utter bankruptcy of Bevin's disastrous policy. For





Nearly three years Bevin has done his utmost to assist the Arab League in preventing a Jewish State. Confidently the Arab armies prepared for the knock-out blow as soon as our Mandate ceased. Confidently the British Government expected and hoped that the Jews would be driven out of Palestine and Zionism destroyed once and for all. But what happened. By a series of dramatic military victories the Jews have conquered the areas allotted to them; and after 15th May, the Arab armies which had been expected to enter Haifa within ten days failed utterly to achieve their objective, despite British money, British equipment, British training and the active participation of British officers.

28.vii.1948. *London*

A quarter of a million pounds has been paid to Transjordan this week as a subsidy for their invasion of Palestine. Without this subsidy Abdullah could not possibly maintain the Arab Legion in Palestine; the payment of the subsidy therefore amounts to a breach of the truce. I hope the Israel Government will make such a representation to the Security Council. But it is such a waste of money. No matter what equipment one gives the Arab, they run no chance against the Jews. It is the man behind the gun who counts, not the gun.

I have been having several conversations with the Zionists at Great Russell Street; most informative and I hope I have been able to help a little.

7.viii.1948. *London*

On August 6th, 1948, King Abdullah reviewed the Arab Legion in Amman, congratulating Glubb Pasha and his officers and men, saying they had defeated the enemy and preserved the holiness of Jerusalem. Abdullah ends up 'We and the others went into this fight jointly; where are the others? We have fought and progressed, but we have not seen this progress made by others.'

Yes, indeed, where are 'the others'? Egypt, Syria, Saudi Arabia and Iraq? Just like a lot of pariah dogs, the one slightly in advance of the others and always looking back to see if the 'others' are coming.





10.viii.1948. *London*

Israel would have loyally adhered to U.N.O. decision on partition including restricted boundaries, but the Arab States refused to accept U.N.O. decision and invaded Palestine. Nobody had the pluck to acclaim them aggressors. Why?

We still continue to subsidize Transjordan who is at war with Israel and it is not considered to be an unneutral act. Why?

On July 27th, the British Middle East Command handed over to the Egyptian Army considerable quantities of military equipment. Why is this not a breach of the truce?

The British Government are solicitous for the welfare of 300,000 Arabs who fled from Israel for no reason at all. The Jews never molested them nor compelled them to leave. Arab invasion compelled them to leave. The Arab States, who have repeatedly stated that they are invading Palestine to save the Arabs from Jewish terror, now want to return the refugees to Israel. Neither do the British Government show the same anxiety for 11,000 Jews illegally detained in Cyprus or the thousands of displaced Jews, some still in concentration camps in Germany. Why?

The Mediator suggests that Jerusalem be handed over to the Arabs. It is a Jewish and a Christian Holy City also. Nobody in this country raised any objection, forgetting the Crusades. Why?

No State has yet been born except by its own unilateral assertion. No State has been born by permission of an organized international community. Except Israel. Its origin was ordained by the community of nations. She possesses an international birth certificate such as no other country possesses. Why then is Britain hostile to her? Why?

Cadogan states that the entry into Palestine of the Cyprus detainees would give a military advantage to the Jews—and yet he continues to pay British taxpayers' money to maintain the Arab Legion which has committed an act of aggression against Palestine and he sanctions the handing over of war equipment to the Egyptian Army on July 27th. Do these unneutral acts not give a military advantage to the Arabs?

2.ix.1948. *London*

Despite superiority in arms, equipment and numbers the Arab





armies of six States have failed to carry out their boast that they would drive the Jews out of Palestine. On the contrary, the Jews are well on their way to drive the Arabs not only out of Palestine but out of Transjordan and Sinai. Both parties have agreed to a truce which is not a truce as fighting continues. The atmosphere is tense and cannot continue. It is clear that the British Government have overestimated the fighting qualities of the Arab and underestimated those of the Jew. And the strength and determination behind Zionism has never been appreciated. Politically there is no unity within the Arab League. The British Government still refuse to recognize Israel. Anti-British feeling increases among the Arabs and could not be worse among the Jews. Anglo-Jewish friendship has been completely ruptured. H.M.G. have not yet realized that a Jewish State in Palestine is a fact.

Bernadotte, the Swedish Mediator, must be a fine fellow but he has made one gigantic error from which his own prestige will never recover. He tried to give Jerusalem to the Arabs. Christianity should have been deeply shocked. I was, but no single voice in Britain expressed horror. Jerusalem is the core of Zionism. To give it to the Arabs stamps Bernadotte at once as a partisan and completely out of touch with the meaning of Zionism. In formulating this horrible proposal he has signed his own death warrant. They will have no use for him and the terrorists will get him sooner or later and everyone else who stands between Israel and Jerusalem. I'm terribly sorry that Bernadotte made such an error for he has both moral and physical courage and might have succeeded if he had understood Zionism better.

As it is, the Jews will get him.

17.IX.1948. *London*

Count Bernadotte has been shot dead in Jerusalem by members of the Stern Gang; it is a shocking and unforgivable crime but was inevitable after trying to give Jerusalem to the Arabs. Such a proposal showed a complete lack of understanding of Zionism and he signed his death warrant when he suggested it. But the real culprits and responsible instigators of the crime are generally the United Nations and in particular the British





Government. The British reduced Palestine to chaos and violence from order and prosperity and then, having made as much mess of the country as they could do in thirty years, cleared out and left Jews and Arabs to fight it out. No Mediator runs a chance of settling after such mismanagement. And then the United Nations come along, talk a great deal, decide nothing, refuse Bernadotte any kind of material backing, sway one way and another and increase exasperation on both sides; it is not surprising that such a horrible crime is perpetrated. Bernadotte was a man who has worked all his life for mankind, his mission in life has been governed by mercy; it is hideous and abominable that he should have been struck down in the city where Christ preached what Bernadotte practised.

But I do not blame the Jews. I blame those few extremists driven to exasperation and any form of violence by procrastination and lack of policy and understanding by the British Governments since 1918.

The virus of anti-semitism—or, better, hebraphobia—will increase in vigour, turning the whole world against the Jew, turning sour the souls of men and converting them into little Hitlers, the prototypes of the species we fought for six years because of their soured, poisoned souls. Fanaticism and unbridled nationalism go hand in hand. Naked nationalism knows no law except necessity. It is despair and disillusion forced on Jewry by successive British Governments which has turned nationalism stark, staring mad; under such conditions any crime is possible.

The Jews are not naturally a violent race, their characteristics are piety, gentleness and kindness. There is no excuse for the murder of Bernadotte but there are many and potent reasons.

The malignant growth of terrorism in Palestine is the direct outcome of the recent years of indescribable suffering of the Jews in Europe and the frustration of their efforts to achieve peace, security and justice from, in the first place, Great Britain and, secondly, from the United Nations. I do not blame the Jews for the murder of Bernadotte; I am intensely sorry for them in this critical hour.

19.ix.1948. *London*

I lunched with Vansittart last week and tried to get him in-





interested in a solution I have in mind for the security of Israel and a permanent settlement in the Middle East. There is no doubt that for years to come all Arab States will strive to drive the Jews into the sea and destroy the State of Israel and there will be little sympathy with Israel among the nations of the world, partly because of anti-semitism and partly because of expediency, namely *oil*. But it will take more than the Arabs to destroy Israel; the civilized world may destroy Israel by neglecting her and encouraging the Arabs with arms and propaganda. I therefore want to make Israel doubly secure from attack by preventing combined attack by the Arab States.

When I was in Sinai during the First War, I discovered that the sovereign boundary between Egypt and Turkey runs from Rafa to Suez and that Egypt was granted an administrative frontier by Turkey, running from Rafa to the north end of the Gulf of Aqaba. Britain conquered eastern Sinai and can claim it. The Egyptians have no right to it. If we were to occupy eastern Sinai, we could establish a strategic base there, secure the Canal and separate Egypt from other Arab States. With this in view I lunched with Vansittart and I think he was impressed; I told him I should like to place the scheme before Bevin and he agreed; a meeting was arranged and this afternoon I met Bevin at the Foreign Office. I had never met the man before.

I had maps with me and placed the whole scheme before Bevin; he was clearly bored and uninterested. I went into the whole thing: the strategic importance of Israel, the port of Haifa—the best in the Eastern Mediterranean—the fighting qualities of the Jews and the impotence of the Arabs, the vital importance of the Suez Canal to us, the stupid policy of appeasing the Arabs because they have oil when they can prevent us having it by closing the Canal—moreover we could shift our huge strategic base from the Canal to Sinai and if necessary cut another Canal from the Gulf of Aqaba to the Mediterranean—and the vital importance of separating Egypt from other Arab States. I stressed the fact that the Jews are the finest fighting material and we should do all we can to help them; I thought Bevin would explode when I stressed the superb qualities of the Jews—gratitude, reliability and courage; Bevin cleared his





throat, puffed out his cheeks and closely resembled an inflated toad. I hinted that anti-semitism was poisoning the minds of Ministers, at which he became very indignant, in fact so indignant that it was clearly a correct assumption.

I was with Bevin for over half an hour and I doubt if I had any effect on his intellect. By throwing up the Palestine Mandate and abandoning the Jews to their fate, which he hoped would be annihilation, Bevin has done more harm to Britain than most men; it is tragic that a man of his calibre should be Foreign Secretary and bring such discredit on our country.

The following letter from Glubb Pasha appeared in *The Times*, September 18th, 1948:

Sir,

The failure of the Arab League to overthrow the State of Israel has produced in the Press a number of letters and articles suggesting that Great Britain has 'backed the wrong horse'. The Arab armies, it is alleged, would be of little value as allies against Russia or any other hostile great Power, if they have been unable to defeat even the Jewish forces.

I venture to submit, however, that this appreciation is entirely erroneous. However efficient the armies of small States may be, the experience of the late war has proved that they can barely stand up for a few days against a great Power. It is not the armies of the Arabs or of Israel which are important—it is the geographical situation of their territories.

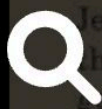
The Arab countries lie across the main line of communications from west to east. They also form the only land bridge between Asia and Africa. They contain vast reserves of oil. An alliance with Israel, however efficient that State may be, would not compensate Britain for the loss of Arab friendship. Strategy is built primarily on the inescapable facts of geography.

I am, Sir, yours truly,

J. B. Glubb.

Royal Hashemite Transjordan Legation,
Office of the Military Attaché,
6 Upper Phillimore Gardens, W.8.
September 16th.





What muddled thinking. The strategic position of Israel is even more important, with its superb port of Haifa. The Jews have proved their fighting qualities, the Arabs have proved themselves to be militarily inefficient. And what is the use of a good strategic position without troops?

No Russian army could march across the Syrian Desert or penetrate far into Saudi Arabia; but they could press down through Damascus and Palestine to the Suez Canal. It is the Jews which hold the strategic position not the Arabs.

24.x.1948. *London*

In spite of every effort to enforce a truce in Palestine, fighting continues. Anyone with the slightest knowledge of Zionism and the Arabs should know that there can be no mediation between Zionism and Islam until Israel has occupied what is her right in Palestine. To think or act otherwise shows ignorance of the situation and a refusal to face realities. Meanwhile the Egyptian Army has been reduced to impotence and the fighting spirit of the Egyptian soldier has been exposed. And so it will continue until Israel gets what she wants. I have written to Weizmann, congratulating him.

Just think what the situation is and what it might have been if we had backed the right horse. We might have had a strong, healthy Jewish Sovereign State in Palestine in close union with the British Commonwealth and a bulwark in the Middle East which would have been unshakeable. Look what we have got. A bitterly hostile Jewish State and equally hostile Arab States. They would have been hostile in any case. Look at them: Abdullah and his Arab Legion, quite useless in spite of British arms and financial assistance, Egypt bitterly hostile and with her armed forces discredited in spite of British equipment, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Iraq and Lebanon impotent.

People talk much about injustice to the Arabs. What about the Baltic States, Finland, Poland and every other State behind the Iron Curtain; all raped by Russia and ruled by puppet Communist Governments contrary to the wishes of the majority. We never hear of injustices in Eastern Europe, only in Palestine and only because the nation Israel is composed of Jews.

The acting Mediator in Palestine has ordered Israel to with-





draw from the position she has won during the last week. I am glad to say Israel has refused to consider such a one-sided arrangement. It would be unfair to regard this refusal as disregard of the will of the United Nations. The present situation is the direct result of the failure of the Mediator to react quickly when Egyptian Forces attacked an Israeli convoy which initiated the present campaign in the Negev. Little attention was given to the Egyptian attack and it is unfair and unrealistic to demand the withdrawal of troops from positions which were occupied at the cost of heavy losses to secure Jewish settlements which were illegally blockaded.

8.XI.1948. *London*

Before leaving England I am going to enjoy a real good hate directed against Communism and Socialism and a real good satisfaction at Jewish successes against the Arab League and the collapse of the Egyptian army. I am conforming to man's duality of nature—amity and enmity. As I have always foretold, no Arab combination would ever withstand the unity and force of militant Zionism. Right will always triumph over might though this never existed in the Arab camp but only in the minds of the Foreign Office and that crazy band of Arabphils, Philby, Storrs, Spears, Newcombe, Glubb and a host of minor fry. The total collapse of the Egyptian army in the Negev has created a military situation in southern Palestine which is entirely dominated by the armed forces of Israel who could, if they wished, occupy the whole of Sinai. In Galilee a Jewish offensive has given to Israel the whole of northern Palestine. All that remains to the Arabs is the Judaeen Highlands and the Jordan valley where the Arab Legion, still financed by Britain in flagrant breach of neutrality, are in command. Meanwhile the Mediator's machinery and the Security Council have been overtaken and swamped by Jewish successes and the reality of events. Slow deliberation will never catch up with military successes.

Israel will not now give up territory won by force of arms. The United Nations are faced with a *fait accompli*. The prolonged failures of the Mediator and lack of agreement in the Security Council have deserved the contempt of Israel and the





abs. One could scarcely expect Israel to hold back and do nothing when surrounded by enemies; and when Britain was known to be behind her enemies.

No Mediator or decision of a remote Security Council could hope for respect without a backing of force. The Mediator has demanded innumerable truces without defining the period during which the truce must be maintained. Truces of indefinite duration must collapse unless there is a real hope and desire for peace. A point has now been reached in Palestine where the imposition of a truce is both dangerous and negative. Both parties now realize that they can ignore the United Nations with impunity; and so far as Israel is concerned, with advantage. Nothing short of a major military operation in Palestine could now control the situation and this is out of the question.

It must surely be obvious to all that no power on earth can confine or suppress the nationalistic and racial impetus of Israel. Zionism must expand to its natural boundaries. Those who still hope to check Zionism might as well hope to check the explosion of an atom bomb.

The sensible solution is to encourage direct negotiation between Jew and Arab, immediate recognition of Israel by Britain and the offering of friendly advice by the United Nations. Otherwise the Jews will rely on their own strength and regain the whole of Biblical Palestine and the Arabs will disintegrate under the weight of incompetence and disunity. Both parties will emerge bitterly hostile to Britain, for which we have to thank Bevin. And with so little foresight we might have had a strong, healthy Jewish State, for ever grateful to Britain and a bulwark in the Middle East which would have more than made up for our crumbling position in Egypt.

But thank God I have lived to see the birth of Israel. It is one of the greatest historical events of the last 2,000 years and thank God I have been privileged to assist in a small way this great event which, I am convinced, will bring benefit to mankind.

The only constructive element which emerged from the wreckage of 1914-18 was the conceded principle of a Home for the Jews in Palestine; and the only worthwhile dividend of 1939-45 is Israel.





19.XI.1948. *Port Said*

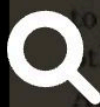
Arrived Port Said at 11 a.m. and anchored in the harbour. I devoted my time to talking to various Egyptian officials on Palestine. After a bit they opened up and gave me some astonishing facts. They could have annihilated the Jews but for three excuses. They were most anxious to obey the United Nations and had stopped fighting when told to do so whereas the Jews had continued to fight when told to stop. Second, Abdullah of Transjordan had refused to co-operate; and third, as 25 per cent of Englishmen are Jews and 50 per cent of Americans are Jews, Palestine got all the help it needed in money and equipment.

As regards the first excuse I told them that Egypt had been the aggressor by invading Palestine and they must not mind the Jews defending themselves. Their advance into Palestine had been rapid and successful until they had met the Jews; why did they stop? Oh, they did not like to go against the advice of UNO. Regarding the second they explained that Abdullah was jealous of Egyptian victories and wanted the whole of Palestine for himself, so he refused to co-operate. They admitted that the Arab League was dissolving through jealousies and they now hoped the Jews would take Transjordan. 'And Sinai?' I asked. No, never, the gallant Egyptian army would defend Sinai to the last man. Third: British and American help to the Jews. I told them that the Arab States had better opportunities to acquire equipment than the Jews and that the six Arab States now attacking Palestine all had standing armies largely equipped by Britain and in the case of Transjordan officered by British officers; also that the strength of the combined armies of the Arab States outnumbered the Jewish forces by at least five to one. This they flatly denied, claiming that the Jews had 100,000 men trained and equipped by Britain and America.

'Then to what do you ascribe your failures?' I asked. That produced a storm; they had not failed, they had not even begun; just wait till they get going and the world will be shocked. I told them the world was already shocked to see the Egyptian army routed by a handful of Jews.

One Egyptian, a police inspector, an enlightened man and educated in England, thought the best solution would be a





round-table conference between Jews and Arabs without outside interference. He had no faith in UNO. The Arabs would have to recognize not only the State of Israel but her conquests; otherwise there was nothing to stop them occupying every Arab State one after another. I heartily agreed.

2.XII.1948. *Dhala, Aden Protectorate*

I visited a Yemeni Jew, a most intelligent old patriarch. He showed me with great pride an ancient manuscript on leather of the Old Testament. Every evening he read a bit of it to his family. In these parts the Jews are despised by the Arabs but not persecuted; this old gentleman told me the Arabs did not like him because he was more intelligent and worked harder than they did; perhaps that is at the root of hebraphobia. Maybe in the remote future the Jews will be the dominant race of mankind. It would certainly be an improvement on other types of domination in our modern world.

On this trip I visited Yemen and made frequent contacts with Yemeni Jews, all asking when they could return to Palestine, all slightly boycotted by their Arab hosts, all devoutly religious and possessing ancient manuscripts of the Old Testament and all hard working craftsmen, doing all the skilled work of the community.

From Aden, I proceeded to British Somaliland, Italian Somaliland, Kenya and thence to South Africa.

7.XII.1948. *Aden*

Palestine drags on without decision and can only result in worse confusion and more violence. But what remains is the infant Israel, firm in the saddle and quite determined to take her place among the great Nations of the world. Thank God I have lived to see it.

23.IV.1949. *Cape Town*

After dinner I called on Smuts at the Mount Nelson Hotel. It was most refreshing to be greeted with so much warmth and we sat talking for over two hours. Though almost eighty he still walks up hills every Saturday and Sunday and looked





terribly fit in his old flannel trousers and grey pull-over. What a wise old man he is and how stupid are the Union electorate to have displaced him just at a moment when the world is upside down, lacking leadership and wisdom. Every part of the world is afraid of something. Here, in the Union, the bogey is the African who is going to rise and turn the white man out of South Africa. Smuts assures me the whole question is utter nonsense, which is what I imagined, and has been largely used for political purposes.

He thought the new State of Israel was one of the wonders of the world and the only good outcome of two world wars. The irony of its birth was that our throwing up of the Palestine Mandate was prompted by the belief that the Arabs would drive the Jews into the sea and squash Zionism once and for all; it had, in fact, enabled Israel to be born and weaned by its own strength.

I pointed out to Smuts the many nations who had sunk low after persecution of the Jews. Egypt suffered because she would not 'let My people go'. In the late Middle Ages Spain persecuted the Jews and has never recovered from the great nation she once was. Before the First World War and during that war France and Russia persecuted the Jews and were reduced to ruin. We befriended the Jews in 1818-19 and were strong and prosperous. Our deterioration coincides with an increasing determination 'not to let My people go' and a general sabotage of Zionism. German persecution of the Jews has met with its reward. America has befriended the Jews and is now the greatest Power in the world. That cannot be all coincidence.

Smuts thought Weizmann a great leader and a far-seeing statesman, but it was the terrorists—the Jabotinsky Revisionists whose core was the Stern Gang—who compelled Britain to admit defeat and gave Weizmann his opportunity. Weizmann, who disliked Jabotinsky, owes him a great deal and when history comes to be written the latter will be the patriot who made it possible to bring Israel into the world.

I left Smuts at 11 p.m., highly gratified to find that my views on these matters were coincident with the views of one of the wisest men of our times.





4.vii.1949. *London*



I have to-day finished reading Weizmann's book on his leadership of Zionism culminating in the recognition of Israel by the U.S.A. It is a remarkable piece of writing, moderate, modest and records what will go down to history as one of the great achievements of the seventy years which I have seen, if not of the past thousand years. He has shown up and castigated not only the rich assimilationist Jews but the many British politicians and officials who have during the past thirty years done their best to torpedo Zionism. The birth of Israel, despite frantic and disgraceful opposition by Britain, gives me more pleasure than any event which has ever come my way and I rejoice that I should have lived to see it and that I should have played a small part in the drama.

One fact stands out in the book. Opposition to Zionism has come from men of small calibre, the second-rates. Sympathy and encouragement has come from the big men, Roosevelt, Truman, Balfour, Lloyd George, Churchill, Plumer, etc. But the driving force and statesmanship have been Weizmann's and only his. The great Jewish Nation will, in the fullness of time, bless his name as the one man who gave them freedom and security. And the world will honour him as the man who has fulfilled God's promise of over two thousand years ago.

10.xii.1949. *London*

The United Nations have approved an international administration over Jerusalem by thirty-eight votes to fourteen. The vote on the whole resolution was as follows:

For: Afghanistan, Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Burma, White Russia, China, Colombia, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Ethiopia, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, France, Greece, Haiti, Honduras, India, Persia, Iraq, Lebanon, Liberia, Luxembourg, Mexico, the Philippines, Pakistan, Paraguay, Peru, Poland, Saudi Arabia, Syria, the Ukraine, Venezuela, the U.S.S.R. and the Yemen.

Against: Canada, Costa Rica, Denmark, Guatemala, Iceland, Israel, Norway, Sweden, Turkey, South Africa, Britain, the United States, Uruguay, and Yugoslavia.





Abstentions: Chile, the Dominican Republic, Nicaragua, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Panama, and Thailand.

The Jews will never accept it and the United Nations can never enforce it, so what is the sense of a resolution which can only bring UNO into contempt and ridicule. And look at the list of nations who voted for the resolution. What do they know or care about Palestine. It is all wrong that these small nations should have an equal vote with those nations who are most interested. There should be a weighted form of voting giving each member State a voting strength in the Assembly consonant with its real influence and knowledge of world affairs. When it is a question of making decisions on frontiers or the government of peoples, they should be left preferably to those nations who have the power to enforce them and are most interested in them by reason of geography or political association. What have Burma and the South American Republics to do with Palestine?

I hope that Israel's reply will be to move the seat of Government to Jerusalem at once. The resolution will either be ridiculed or if enforced will be met by bloodshed. The Jews will never surrender Jerusalem. Why should they?

Leaving England late in 1949, I took a ship to Kuwait in the Persian Gulf, then to Bahrein whence I crossed Arabia to Jedda via Riyadh. I met many Arabs, including the old King Ib'n Saud, and conversation often drifted to Arab hatred of Israel. I found that all Arabs when discussing Israel presumed that one disapproved of Jews and their home in Palestine, therefore freely expressing their opinions.

14.I.1951. *Kuwait, Persian Gulf*

It is remarkable how many British eccentrics are attracted to Arabia or is it that a certain type becomes an eccentric after contact with the Arab? From the earliest days—Gordon, Lady Elphinstone, Doughty, Burton—down to the host of modern eccentrics such as Lawrence, Philby, Glubb. I suppose a slightly unbalanced mind and a craving for romance or solitude is attracted by the dirt, squalor, dishonesty, inefficiency, laziness, intolerance and unreliability of the Arab, and no doubt the





romance of the desert and the nomad has its attractions; it certainly attracts me. Perhaps Islam and the almost childishness of Moslem hypocrisy and the false holiness of Islam's Holy Cities all contribute.

I suppose the truth is that a man slightly abnormal is in search of something abnormal and in the Arab and the desert he finds just what he wants, people and places out of the ordinary and an atmosphere where his eccentricities find full scope and expansion and where he can with ease become a whale among the smaller fry.

15.I.1951. *Kuwait*

Dined with Jordan and his wife. A Lebanese contractor was also there with his wife, wearing a four-row diamond necklace. How the oriental loves to display his wealth through his women, a not uncommon vice in a certain type in Europe. I got him on to Israel without disclosing my views. He thought the economic boycott exercised by the Arab States would eventually kill Israel in about fifty years, by which time the Arab States would be firmly united, well armed and efficient. The Jews would then be driven into the sea but would be allowed a small Jewish enclave in coastal Palestine but without a Jewish Government. He placed no reliance on Iraq, Yemen or Saudi Arabia, but was confident that Jordan, Syria, Lebanon and Egypt could defeat the Jews in fifty years time. I suggested that in fifty years the Jews also would be much stronger than at present. He said they would be bankrupt, rotten with communism and devoid of economic or political stability.

I remarked 'Why do not you Arabs, with all your resources from oil, do something for those wretched refugees from Palestine.' 'Good God,' he said 'do you really think we are going to destroy the finest propaganda we possess; it's a gold mine.' I suggested that such a view is both unkind and immoral. 'Bah,' he said. 'They are just human rubbish but a political gold mine.' In slightly different language I received identical views from other Arabs.

1.II.1951. *Hufoof, Saudi Arabia*

The Emir Saud, a cousin of the King's, admitted that the Jews





were too strong for the Arabs and that they had come to stay and he regretted the support given to Israel by Britain and the United States. I denied that Britain had given support to Israel. On the contrary we had done our best to destroy Zionism and had abandoned the country to its fate, hoping and expecting that the Arabs would drive the Jews into the sea. The Emir was very disappointed with the Egyptian Army and thought the Egyptians were soft.

10.v.1951. *London*

I attended a reception at the Israel Legation at 6 Stanhope Gate, on the occasion of Israel Independence Day. Spent all my time talking to Herbert Samuel, now over eighty, and Norman Bentwich, both just back from Palestine. They tell me that Weizmann is rapidly declining, though his mind is still clear. I must try to see him again. We discussed the future, in which they had complete confidence. On my asking if Israel was going to become a communist state, they both gave me the same answer—yes, but not on the Russian model; it would be a communist state where private enterprise is encouraged and where freedom of the individual is supreme: they both thought that Israel could more than hold her own against any combination of Arab States. All very satisfactory.

19.vi.1951. *London*

Bound up with the Persian Crisis is Egypt and her illegal attitude over the Suez Canal in preventing cargoes of any description passing through if destined for Israel. For over two years this has been going on and we have done nothing beyond protest. It would be so easy to tell Egypt that we intend to stand up for our rights and that in future all ships passing through the Canal will be under naval escort and not subject to interference. The East understands strength; they despise weakness and will always take advantage of it.

This brings up the whole question of the defence of the Middle East. In *The Times* a few days ago appeared a letter by my friend Colonel Garsia, the essence of which was that the defence of the Middle East is on the Rhine. Another letter by de Chair in to-day's *Times* deplores Garsia's view and adds:





'There are only two places where the British Empire can be irretrievably lost; one is on the shores of the English Channel and the other is the Middle East; to abandon the latter at the outset would be three parts of the way to losing the war.'

There is truth in both Garsia's and de Chair's letters; the fundamental trouble is the Kremlin and that can be dealt with in Moscow or on the Rhine; but to abandon the Middle East as suggested by Garsia is of course deplorable. The Middle East must be defended, but how? De Chair suggests we can block the Caucasus passes but the Caucasus can be by-passed.

There is nothing to stop Russia invading the Middle East to-morrow; she could reach the Suez Canal and the head of the Persian Gulf in a month; there is nothing to stop her beyond air action, the climate and large stretches of waterless country. De Chair suggests guerrilla tactics by men like Glubb and Fawzi Kawukji would inconvenience Russia's lines of communication. The history of guerrilla tactics in comparatively open country against a heavily armed mobile modern army shows that any effort made by Glubb and his like would have no more effect than would a mosquito on a charging elephant. A poorly armed Turkey is on Russia's flank but she would not assume an offensive now any more than in 1941. The Iraq Army is utterly unfit for war and the other Arab States have neither the means nor the will nor the heart to resist. Our little force on the Canal is anchored. Air action is our only offensive weapon and Korea has taught us that even command of the air cannot check a determined enemy.

We have missed our great opportunity. Many years ago when I was Chief Political Officer in Palestine I approached Weizmann regarding the future of Zionism, suggesting that sooner or later we should have to abandon Egypt as a military base and would he agree, after the establishment of a sovereign Israel, to British bases leased for ninety-nine years. He agreed. Later on (1922) when I was Military Adviser to the Middle East Department, I stressed the importance of Palestine as our Middle East base and put forward the suggestion of transferring the core of our Middle East defence from Egypt to Palestine where excellent naval, army and air facilities exist. But pro-Arab policy was too strong, anti-semitism was rampant and to





be under any obligation to the Jews was anathema. The proposition fell through and a great opportunity was lost. Having incurred the hatred of the Jews after abandoning Palestine to anarchy in the hopes that the Arabs would drive them into the sea, such an opportunity will never recur.

That brings me back to the ways and means of defending the Middle East. We cannot defend it except by the limited use of sea power as already suggested, or by having the Kremlin by the heels, a question I am not competent to discuss.

Written in huge letters over Downing Street should be 'We have left undone those things which we ought to have done; and we have done those things which we ought not to have done.' It is a tragedy that at the moment we have a man as Foreign Secretary who neither knows nor cares, who carries no weight either at home or abroad and who is a complete nonentity.

Socialist foreign policy has been one of retreat. They dislike imperial connections or colonial expansions. Bevin could never shake off his provincial socialist orthodoxy; his policy was the history of hesitation, retreat and surrender.

22.vii.1951. *Mottisfont, Hampshire*

Jowitt and I discussed Israel for over an hour. I found him at first antagonistic and favouring our support of the Arab States in preference to Israel. He thought Israel were aggressors, they had no right to Palestine, that their behaviour had been abominable and that the Zionist experiment would inevitably fail. I put all the usual arguments before him—the Biblical aspect, the persecution and dispersal for 2,000 years, Hitler's persecution, the 'nation-without-a-home' aspect, the debt we owe the Jews in religion, music, art and science and finally the strategic and military aspect; whilst speaking to the Chancellor I felt I was just making a fool of myself and was immensely relieved when he said with great seriousness, 'It is not many men who have convinced me of my erroneous convictions in such a short time; I believe you are right and I shall in future support Israel.' I liked that.

13.xi.1951. *London*

Elath and his wife dined this evening and we had a long talk





about the future and how Egypt's attitude over the Suez Canal might affect Israel. Elath told me that with Egypt's new, aggressive, military regime, Israel's security might be seriously undermined, were Nasser to start making use of the new situation to increase his hostile activities in the Gaza Strip.

There is much talk now of Middle East Defence. And a desire to include all countries of the Arab League whilst ignoring Israel. What can we expect from the Arab League? Yemen—nothing. Saudi Arabia—a phantom army, untrained and non-existent as a fighting force. Iraq, an undisciplined mob incapable of serious fighting. Egypt—an army which has already been beaten by the youngest army in the world. Syria and Lebanon—nothing but scallywags. And in Israel we have a highly efficient army, well trained, modern weapons and already tried in battle; their morale is of the highest order. And the silly guinea-pigs of Whitehall continue to back and appease the Arabs.

It would be so easy to come to an arrangement with Israel which would stabilize our position in the Middle East and secure the Suez Canal for all time.

20.v.1952. *London*

We are drifting from bad to worse. Israel recently asked for a loan of five million to maintain her oil supplies; H.M.G. have refused and once again hebraphobia has triumphed regardless of realities. The refusal comes at a moment which may prove crucial in the Middle East and will join the ranks of lost opportunities. We eagerly repaid Egypt her sterling balances, hoping to appease, and we turn down in churlish fashion a modest request from the strongest power in the Middle East and from one who might help us considerably if we would hold out the hand of friendship. Israel must look elsewhere—Russia or the U.S.A.? Politicians, especially Churchill, talk complacently about the goodwill between Israel and Britain. A practical gesture is vital and now we have once again missed the bus. It is all a most clumsy piece of ineptitude.

28.ix.1952. *London*

The prospect is an unhappy one. Moussadiq, with his crazy





logic, not content with having closed down Abadan, now threatens to break off diplomatic relations with Britain. The harm was in letting ourselves be pushed out of Abadan, when a strong policy would have succeeded. Since then we have been in retreat and the Persians, no doubt drunk with success (to their great surprise), go on pushing and demanding. The only flaw in the policy of our Foreign Office and our diplomats is that it invariably fails. It is always plausible and it always collapses.

Egypt continues on her course of internal chaos and uncertainty and Neguib has failed to fill the vacuum he created.

There are rumours that Iraq intends to follow Persia and nationalize her oil; Saudi Arabia will no doubt take note and squeeze further royalties out of her oil companies; and all because we failed in Persia and no doubt Persia took her cue from India whence we scuttled without settling many outstanding questions. Retreat from Empire is a sad sight.

There is an uneasy tranquillity in Transjordan which only keeps her head above revolutionary water by the help of an enormous subsidy and British bayonets. India, Iraq and Jordan are now ruled by Harrow school boys about whom we know little.

And Whitehall still appeases and supports these rotting heaps of Arab instability whilst scarcely recognizing little Israel. I wish Israel and Turkey would get together for they represent the only stable factor in the Middle East. Both the Turk and the Jew have proved their worth on the battlefield. A close liaison, or better a loose alliance between the Turk and the Jew, would have a tremendous influence in the Middle East, it would deflate the Arab League and might influence Whitehall in the right direction. Also, a strong Turkey and Israel offer the best security should Russia make an attempt on the Suez Canal. The Turks know the Arabs. During the First World War they were never employed as combatant troops, only as labour battalions. They now regard the Arabs as extremely poor security risks and our continued wooing of Arab countries as sheer folly. The Middle East Defence system is only weakened by the Arabs; it would be enormously strengthened by Turkish and Israeli adherence.





I must add a further note. British policy, just one hundred years ago, still regarded Turkey, well on the road to dissolution, as the best insurance against Russian aggression and a better guardian of the strategically vital Middle East than any Arab Empire. It has been proved that the Arabic-speaking peoples are no substitute for Turkey in the face of an aggressive Russia. The present muddle in the Middle East is the result of short-sightedness and mutual rivalries among Western Powers. The present situation is infinitely complex and has been deliberately made so by anti-semitism. After the First World War the creation of a strong Arab Empire was the policy of our Foreign Office, at the cost of abandoning the encouragement of Zionism to which we were pledged by the Balfour Declaration.

The recent history of the Arab States, their corruption, dishonesty and instability, should show the most stupid Whitehall official how unreliable and useless they are. Palestine, after twenty years of British administration, was one of the best run countries in the world and with a high standard of living. An Arab-Jewish State is just an impossible dream. On realizing this, our Socialist Government, in a fit of bad temper, abandoned the Mandate, hoping the combined strength of six Arab States would drive the Jews into the sea and complete what the British Government had failed to do. But the result of a war for which Egypt and Transjordan must take the major responsibility was a resounding defeat of the Arabs by an ill-armed and isolated handful of Jews. But even now the British Government refuse to face realities. We are allowing the Arabs to buy modern war equipment, provided they do not use it for aggression. What a provision, and who is going to stop the Arabs embarking on a second round with Israel when they think they can succeed? It is true that Israel can also re-arm under the same conditions, but her economic position makes expenditure on defence almost impossible.

10.XI.1952. *London*

My dear friend Chaim Weizmann died yesterday at his home in Palestine. I am deeply grieved. There is little shock in his death for he had been ailing for many months; but there is immense recognition of the magnitude of his achievement. He alone,





among men, possessed the greatness to fulfil God's Promise to lead the Jews back to Palestine after 2,000 years dispersal—and this alone is perhaps one of the greatest achievements in history since the days of Christ.

He was a major prophet, towering above his colleagues, never faltering in his conviction that Sovereign Israel could be born in his lifetime. He is one of the few who actually achieved a great mission in the course of half a century and established a sovereign state surrounded by enemies and deserted by his sponsors. He devoted his life to Zionism and more than any other man deserves the credit for sovereign Israel which is his everlasting monument.

He alone was responsible for the Balfour Declaration, a document without meaning, but nevertheless a charter for the Jews. After that event, his constant conflict was with the British Government and British officials in Palestine whose policy was to whittle down Zionism to a meaningless movement. From 1918 until the birth of Israel, Weizmann was fighting two battles at once—the one with his own people who were impatient of his patience, and the other with Whitehall who did their best to strangle Zionism. But in spite of this he remained to the end convinced that friendship with Britain was the foundation stone of Zionism. And even when Britain shamefully gave up the Mandate, abandoning Palestine and the Jews to their fate, hoping the Jews would be driven into the sea by the Arabs, Weizmann still had faith in the country which had betrayed him. That showed greatness; but he never forgave Ernest Bevin.

Chaim was a great chemist, a great Jew, a great man and a Prince of Israel. He and Smuts are the two outstanding figures of my generation and I am proud to have worked with them. Chaim was a Russian by birth; I have often speculated as to what might have happened if he and many of his extremely able fellow Zionists had devoted their lives and talent to the reconstruction of Russia after 1917. There would have been no Stalin, no slave state, no persecution. There certainly would have been a co-operative, peaceful, prosperous Russia.

As a man, I had no better or more loyal friend than Chaim





Weizmann. I remember spending a weekend at Helouan with him in 1918; it was then I got to know and love him; he poured out his dreams till long past midnight; thank God they came true during his lifetime; he must have died a happy man.

18.XI.1952. *London*

I attended a memorial service for Chaim Weizmann at the Synagogue in Abbey Road. I arrived without a hat and was lent a small black felt contraption by an usher. It soon gave me a headache, so I removed it but was at once pounced on by a large usher who told me to replace it, which I did. This is the first occasion on which I have attended a service in a Synagogue. I was much impressed by the simplicity and sincerity of the service: I am not surprised the Jewish religion has lasted 2,000 years in spite of persecution. The Queen was represented and the whole Diplomatic Corps were there except the representatives of the Arab States. I was given a place of honour all among the big wigs.

1.I.1953. *London*

Britain continues to supply modern arms to the Arab States, far in excess of what is required for internal use. Our Foreign Office is well aware that no amount of modern arms are any use in the hands of Arabs for the protection of the Middle East; the arms are required solely for the purpose of aggressive action against Israel, whose economy prevents her from purchasing modern arms for protection. Foreign Office policy for the past thirty years has never wavered from the policy of trying to drive the Jews out of Palestine and this latest action is most distressing. A good description of our Foreign Office is 'Stalin's Secret Weapon'.

The destruction of Israel is the supreme aim of Arab policy, coupled with the complete elimination of Britain from the Middle East from Syria to Aden, Sudan and Somaliland and from the Persian Gulf to Morocco; and in this elimination they have the support of the United States foreign policy.

Since 1948 the Arab countries have refused to discuss peace with Israel; they have opposed her politically and economically





wherever they could, they have done their utmost to strangle her trade; in short they have shown a vindictive, vengeful spirit, trying to obtain by spite what they cannot obtain by force of arms; even in such matters as the control of malaria and locusts they have opposed regional arrangements. Is that the correct spirit for members of the United Nations? Could we expect otherwise when one remembers that in two—Saudi Arabia and Yemen—slaves can still be bought and sold.

Attempts to strengthen national unity crush political liberty. In all the Arab States we shall see dictatorships arise and all opposition suppressed. Every effort will be made for a final war of extermination against Israel. The Arab League will develop into an Arab Axis. And with it will arise all the slavery and miseries of dictatorship; moral erosion will become as great as soil erosion in Arabic-speaking countries. When the British and United States Governments bolster up the Arab States, they think they are supplying a remedy whereas they are stimulating the disease of nationalism whose sole policy is the destruction of Israel.

6.1.1953. *London*

There seems to be no end to the amount of appeasement we proffer to the Arabs at the expense of the Jews. Our Foreign Office policy is based on fallacies which are known to be fallacies. First, that friendship and co-operation exist between the Arabs, especially Egypt, and ourselves, and if for the time being these are strained, then it is the fault of Zionist intrigue; second, that in order to gain Arab friendship every concession, economic military, moral and political must be made. These methods have failed and will continue to fail when dealing with Arabs. A most recent example is the release of £10 m. sterling to Egypt, following a violent outburst of hatred and threat by highly placed Egyptian Ministers and the murder of a British civilian in the Canal Zone. Also we are allowing Egypt to purchase arms far in excess of her genuine requirements; these can only be used against us or against Israel. The truth is, there is no trust and no friendship between Britain and Egypt and no degree of appeasement can improve our relationship. The lessons Hitler taught us have been forgotten.





In March 1953 I visited Israel.

10.IV.1953. *Tel Aviv*

Hotels in Israel have two menus, the one for Israelis and the other for visitors. To-day's lunch for the former was soup or entrée, fish and stewed fruit. For visitors and tourists it was soup, entrée, four different meat dishes and pudding. I am not sure whether I approve of that. I think it would be good for visitors to appreciate Israel austerity.

Tel Aviv is a mushroom city, starting from nothing but sand-dunes in 1918 to 300,000 souls to-day. It is a model of austerity and utility, a city of outraged aesthetics, hideous in detail and yet not unpleasant in bulk. Houses are built of glaring white concrete on rather the tenement plan, but all up-to-date and nothing wasted on external decoration. The streets are well planted with trees which in a few years time will greatly improve what is now undisguised ugliness.

Ben-Gurion, the Prime Minister, asked me to come and see him this morning and this I did at nine o'clock. We had a long talk commencing on the new regime in Russia: he was not optimistic about the future and thought that only internal pressure would change the aggressive policy of Stalin.

I told him about my admiration for Israel and the wonderful progress she had achieved under most trying conditions. I told him that I thought the religious tradition of the Jews might weaken now that an in-gathering had taken place. He disagreed, thinking that the Jewish religion was much too deep-rooted to fade away.

I told him I was distressed by the many injustices I had observed towards Israel. He asked me to explain, which I did, and he took them all down as I spoke:

- (1) The severing of the Hebrew University from Israel.
- (2) The severing of the Beisan hydro-electric station.
- (3) The severing of the North Dead Sea potash works and hotel.
- (4) The closing of the Suez Canal and the Gulf of Aqaba to Israeli ships and ships destined for Israel.





(5) The cutting of the oil pipe-line to Haifa and neutralizing the refinery at that place.

(6) The failure of United Nations to compel the Arab States to make peace with Israel.

(7) The attempt to make Israel responsible for the Arab refugees.

(8) The burden of defence, Britain is arming Egypt with modern equipment which can only be necessary for a second campaign against Israel.

(9) The refusal of a loan to Israel by Britain when she readily grants a loan to Jordan.

(10) The continued presence of both Egyptian and Jordan troops on Israeli territory.

Ben-Gurion agreed and said that so long as Britain pursued an appeasement policy towards the Arab States, these injustices were insoluble. He could not understand the workings of the minds of the officials in Whitehall. I told him that oil and hebraphobia explained Britain's attitude and that expediency had been allowed to over-ride justice and common sense.

He insisted that I stay in Israel for Independence Day on the 20th. The parade is being held at Haifa. He is a thick-set, tough, robust and yet untidy type of man, determined but of great humour and wild rages. His eyes sparkle with excitement and fun. He is a man of single purpose, rather secretive, ruthless and preferring action to talk. He organized a Jewish battalion in the First World War and regards the Bible as a source of inspiration and guidance rather than as a religious doctrine.

I am proud to find that both the President and Prime Minister of Israel were in my regiment—the Royal Fusiliers—during the First World War.

18.iv.1953. *Allonim Kibbutz*

In the evening I had a long talk with Colonel Allon, who is a member of this Kibbutz; he is a first class type of man, a keen soldier and went through the North African, Italian and Dutch campaigns with the British Army; he also took a prominent part in the Israeli War of Independence when he was com-





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commanding the artillery in the offensive against the Egyptians in Sinai in January 1949.

He told me the story of British interference during a major and decisive operation, when Israeli forces had surrounded the whole Egyptian army and there would have been no resistance by Egypt if Israel had chosen to occupy the Canal and even Cairo. It is conceivable that, if Israel had been allowed to reap the fruits of her victory, there would be no Suez Canal problem. Allon gave me Ambassador McDonald's book, *My Mission in Israel, 1951*, to read.

'p. 116. On December 31st, 1948, Truman instructed me to deliver immediately to the Israel Authorities a threat by Great Britain to invoke its obligations under the treaty of 1936 with Egypt to come to her aid (though Cairo has not requested it) and to enter the war against Israel unless Israel withdrew her troops from Egyptian territory. McDonald informed Sharrett at once and then drove to Tiberias where he informed Ben-Gurion that evening.'

'p. 121. Ben-Gurion pointed out that Israel was in friendly touch with the Security Council and not in conflict with it: Britain cannot make herself sole judge of an alleged violation of Security Council recommendations; only the Security Council can be the judge. Israel is engaged only in self-defence. She has been attacked by six Arab States whose troops are still on Palestine soil. As a small country, Israel must reserve the right of self-defence even if she goes down fighting.'

'p. 122. On January 2nd, 1949, an Egyptian plane dropped bombs on Jerusalem, injuring five persons, the first occasion on which bombs had been dropped on the Holy City. On the same day all Israeli troops had retired from Egyptian territory, though Egyptian troops still remained in the Gaza salient, an integral part of Palestine.

On January 7th, British aircraft flew over the battle area in South Palestine and the Israelis shot down five.





British troops moved to Aqaba. President Truman thought that the British aircraft incident and the move of British troops to Aqaba were unwarranted and badly conceived.

On January 18th, H.M.G. released all Jewish internees from Cyprus.'

The whole incident is illuminating and an example of spiteful interference by H.M.G. Israel was too young and inexperienced to stand up to Britain; but a pity Allon, who was commanding Israeli troops in Sinai, did not do what Nelson did at Copenhagen. And I firmly believe that Britain was bluffing. She had but one Brigade on the Canal; she would not dare to have used aircraft against Israel; and what would she have achieved by a naval blockade with the whole of world opinion against her. The whole incident was one of Bevin's most brutal and stupid moves.

Risks must be taken in war; and this was an occasion when the risk was worth taking; the advantages outweighed the risk of active intervention by Britain.

20.IV.1953. *Tel Aviv*

I had a long talk with Allon about the cease-fire in Sinai in January 1949. He admitted that a great error had been made in submitting to the British threat of intervention at a moment when the destruction of the Egyptian army was imminent. He told me that he himself would have taken the risk of ignoring the threat but that he had to obey orders; not only Egypt but Transjordan would have been compelled to sue for peace; Ben-Gurion's decision to give way was psychological due to the youth and inexperience of young Israel. As it was, Israel won the war but lost the peace due to the spite of Britain, who, not content with abandoning Israel to the Arabs in 1948, stepped in under the wing of the United States and deprived Israel of complete victory. If Israel had been allowed to destroy the Egyptian Army, we should never have all this trouble over the Suez Canal and the Sudan. And Jordan also would have had its bubble burst and the Arab League would have been exploded for ever.





18.x.1953. *Wiltshire*

On the night of the 14th, some Israeli troops raided into Jordan and beat up the villages of Qibya and Shuqba, about fifteen miles north of Jerusalem; forty-two men, women and children were killed and some forty houses destroyed. This is most deplorable but I can quite understand the factors which had led Israel to take such drastic action. Raids by Arabs from Jordan into Israel during the past four years have led to the murder of nearly 500 Jews and the theft of much valuable property. Neither the Jordan Government nor the Mixed Armistice Commission have been able to control or check these raids into Israel who was left no other course but to teach the Arabs a lesson and compel the Arabs to behave themselves which neither the Jordan Government nor the Armistice Commission were capable of doing.

The incident has, of course, fanned into flames anti-semitism, has led to protests by the United States and, as a piece of pure hypocrisy, Her Majesty's Government have expressed their horror at Israel's action. Let us compare Israel's position in face of Arab aggression and Great Britain's position in face of Kikuyu aggression.

The Jews are in Palestine by rights granted them by the Great Powers in 1920. The establishment of the National Home was expressly agreed by the Arab delegation in Paris in 1920.

The Jews have not occupied any Arab land except by purchase or, more recently, by taking advantage of absentee landlords.

The Jews were in 1948 a Nation without a home.

The British are in Kenya by right of conquest and Imperial expansion and without any agreement or permission of the Kikuyu peoples.

In Kenya, despite the Carter Report, we have occupied vast areas of Kikuyu grazing and hunting land, mostly without compensation and we have confined the tribe to an inadequate reserve.

The British were, until the retreat from Empire, spread over the best part of the world.





In 1948, the Jews were abandoned to their fate by the Mandatory Power and were laid open to attack by six Arab States, whom they defeated by force of arms.

When Arabs, out of hatred and jealousy, kill Jews, little notice is taken of it. Britain, in her paramount position in Jordan, could easily have stopped Arab aggression but has refrained from doing so. When Arab leaders come to Europe they are entertained by Her Majesty's Government.

When the Jews retaliate and attack Arab villages, H.M.G. express their horror.

Since 1900 we have steadily consolidated our position in Kenya and have colonized the White Highlands—Kikuyu Country—without any opposition whatever.

When the Kikuyu, smarting under injustice, attack the British, it is called murder. When Kikuyu leaders come to Europe to enlist British sympathy, they are tried and sentenced for sedition.

When the British retaliate, hunt and kill thousands of Kikuyu, it is a military operation, punitive columns vying with each other and boasting in competitive fashion of the numbers of Africans killed and captured.

26.x.1953. *London*

I presided at a meeting of the Paladin Club in the House of Commons this evening. It was an interesting meeting and Elath spoke well though with restraint and caution, outlining the economic position of Israel, the causes of the recent Israeli raid into Jordan, which had resulted from continual and repeated attacks from Jordan upon Israeli settlements situated along the Jordan-Israel frontier, the vital question of the Suez Canal and the preparedness of Israel to meet further Arab aggression. The meeting went on until almost midnight. Shinwell gave us a parliamentary speech blaming the United Nations for Arab-Israeli tension and when he embarked on all kinds of irrelevant matter concerning the United Nations, I





had much pleasure in asking him to stick to the point. Richard Greaves made a stupid attack on Israel, holding her responsible for 'acts of aggression' against Jordan and emphasizing the senseless killing of forty innocent Arabs. I had to point out to him that in warfare both the armed forces and civilians are 'innocent' and that the real guilty persons are the politicians, the diplomats, the Mixed Armistice Commission and the United Nations, especially the British Government. General Yadin made an excellent speech, pointing out the unfairness of the present Jordan-Israel frontier, the many acts of aggression committed by Jordan against Israel, the futility of the Mixed Armistice Commission and the exasperation felt in Israel at the failure of the British Government to compel Jordan to keep the peace.

All speakers agreed that the control of the Suez Canal must on no account be handed over to Egypt but nobody offered a solution of the problem.

My summing up as Chairman took twenty-five minutes. I was not impartial and was very outspoken which induced several members, after the meeting, to congratulate me on making the best contribution of the evening and on being so frank.

I thought the greatest assets of the Jews in Israel were first the enthusiasm and modesty of the people and their determination to make good, secondly the efficiency of the armed forces which have been recently described as the 'most efficient army outside the Iron Curtain' and thirdly that the State of Israel was the only educated democracy in the world and by that I meant that the common people were so well educated that they could recognize the lies told by politicians at elections.

I then compared the Arab-Israel conflict with the British-Kikuyu conflict in Kenya, outlining the factors which I mentioned in my diary under October 18th. I remarked that reprisals against aggression are tolerated when undertaken by a Great Power with colonial possessions but that when small nations adopt the same policy, people are horror-struck. I said that the British Policy in Kenya was a good example of power without responsibility which was once described by Baldwin as the prerogative of harlots throughout the ages.





As regards responsibility, I blamed the United Nations for not translating the armistice agreements into a final peace settlement. Their failure to do this was governed by a policy of appeasement towards the Arab States, expediency and vested interests overriding common sense and justice. That there was evidence that we and the United States were not working together for peace in the Middle East, the latter constantly trying to undermine our position in view of oil. As regards the recent Qibya incident when fifty-three Arabs were killed it was no doubt the result of exasperation felt over the Mixed Armistice Commission's failure to prevent incidents and the immediate cause of the raid was a grenade thrown into a Jewish house at Yahude only forty-eight hours previously, killing a mother and her two small children. I thought that good might come of these deplorable incidents if the United Nations were at last forced to compel the Arab States to make peace with Israel. I particularly blamed the British Government who finance Jordan to the tune of over six million pounds a year, for not using their influence in telling Glubb and his minions that if Jordan aggression does not stop, the subsidy will cease. United Nations authority has dwindled, resulting in increased tension with the danger of explosion. The only chance of re-establishing security in the Middle East rests in bringing about normal relations between Israel and her Arab neighbours, especially Jordan and Egypt.

I then dealt with the Suez Canal which I thought was much too dangerous a weapon to remain in Egyptian hands. Egypt has closed it, illegally, to Israeli shipping and would do the same to us if we withdrew our troops or to any other country with whom she found herself in disagreement. I thought it was a thousand pities that the British Government had interrupted in the Israel-Egypt military operation in 1948. If Israel had been allowed to occupy Sinai we should have had no further trouble with Egypt. I reiterated my solution of the Suez Canal problem, namely that Egypt should be told now that in 1966, when the Canal is due to be handed over to her, it would become an international waterway under the United Nations and that until 1966 we intended to retain our troops and military base on the Canal.





One speaker brought up the Arab refugees and claimed that they were at the root of the trouble. I pointed out that these refugees had left Palestine on the advice of the Mufti and some British officials and that their flight had been assisted by the British Army then in Palestine; that if they returned they would constitute a Fifth Column in Israel owing to Arab hostility and that whereas the Arab States received an annual income from oil of almost twenty-five million pounds, Israel, owing to Arab hostility, had no spare funds to do anything about it.

1.I.1954. *London*

I am not at all happy about our negotiations with Egypt on the Suez Canal; the only solution is to make it an international waterway in 1966 when it should revert to Egypt and be controlled by and defended by those Powers who are most interested. Egypt could never hope to defend the Canal even in the remote future and, in any case, it is much too powerful a weapon to place in the hands of any one nation and that one of the most decadent and unscrupulous in the world.

I am also much concerned about Israel and Jordan's persistence in refusing to make peace. The British Government could compel Jordan to do so under the threat of withdrawal of the subsidy; but H.M.G. appear to be content to let this festering sore persist with the danger of war breaking out again between Israel and the Arab States. At the root of the matter is appeasement of the Arab States and appeasement in any form, especially when applied to Arabs, never pays. How quickly we have forgotten Munich.

2.III.1954. *London*

On February 25th, Neguib, the military dictator of Egypt, was placed under house arrest by Nasser and Salem; the mob intervened and on February 27th he was released and reinstated. On February 26th, there was a revolution in Syria followed by riots in Damascus. On March 2nd, Neguib, accompanied by Salem, who only a few days previously had said 'We should have killed Neguib', flew to Khartoum for the opening of the Sudan Parliament. Riots, in which a British Chief of Police and many





others were killed, broke out in Khartoum and Neguib with his dancing Major, who had been staying at the Palace in Khartoum, flew back to Cairo and the Sudan Parliament was not opened.

The ramshackle Arab League is of no use to anyone. Leaders of revolution who do not hang together will hang separately. So long as Army rule is the ultimate authority there can be no stability in Egypt or anywhere else; and so long as a dictator's power rests on either the mob or the army, the hangman's noose and the assassin's weapon is just round the corner. And as mobs go, an Egyptian mob is at the bottom of the scale.

In Egypt and Syria, violence has replaced order. In the Sudan political riots, fostered by Egypt, have shaken the shaky foundations of the new State. There is unrest in Tunis and the Lebanon; these are the culminating proofs of unreliability in the Arab world and cause much anxiety in Israel who fears that she may be attacked by Arab States as a screen for Arab rottenness. Mob violence seems to be the ultimate arbiter in the Arab world.

And this is all due to the policy of scuttle and appeasement commencing with India, then Palestine and then Abadan, accompanied by a blind policy of appeasement towards the Arab States. What a hopeless mess we have made of the Middle East which was so stable when our politicians had 'guts' and real men sat in the Foreign Office.

30.III.1954. *London*

No Israeli ship has ever been allowed to pass through the Suez Canal. The Constantinople Convention of 1888 is quite explicit; passage must be allowed freely at all times, in war and peace, to ships of every nation. Any exercise of the right of blockade is expressly ruled out.

New Zealand now proposes a draft resolution to the Security Council calling for an end to Egyptian restrictions on Suez Canal shipping. In 1951 the Security Council told Egypt that her action in holding up cargoes destined for Israel was illegal and called on her to remove restrictions, but Egypt paid no attention, and now the new New Zealand resolution has been vetoed by Russia, though eight of the Council's eleven members supported New Zealand. This makes the Security Council a





laughing stock and utterly impotent. Why cannot we stand up to Russia and if necessary act without her? In other words, if she refuses to co-operate in establishing law and order in the world, outlaw her. It could easily be done without risk of war and would bring Russia to her senses. Russia's action allows Egypt to continue her illegal blockade of Israel and continue the tension which is now paralysing the Middle East.

I am quite sure that events of great moment will occur shortly in the Middle East. I know the Nasser-type of Dictator, ruthless, dishonest and for ever expanding, striving after greater and greater deeds, with boundless ambition and in fact the Hitler-Mussolini-Stalin type. But Nasser is a vulgar little upstart and not so clever as either Hitler or Stalin. His policy is based on five points—a pan-Arab Republic with him at the helm, immediate possession of the Suez Canal, elimination of Britain from the Middle East, inviting Russia to come on the scene with arms and money, and lastly the destruction of Israel. Nasser saw what happened at Abadan—Persia, encouraged by America, throwing us out, and Britain, threatened by America, declining to retaliate. Nasser will play the same game with the Suez Canal and I am convinced that fairly soon he will proclaim its nationalization, at the same time encouraging Russia to give him tanks, aircraft and submarines. And with Eden at the head of affairs, Nasser will probably get away with it; the answer to Nasser should be the immediate occupation of the Canal Zone by Britain and proclaim it to be an international waterway, and remain in occupation until a United Nations Force can take it over; British occupation of Sinai east of the Rafa-Suez line and to Hell with the Security Council and John Foster Dulles. Any strong action by us would have world support but I fear our politicians are no more capable of strong firm action than is a camel capable of wriggling through the eye of a needle. And, if necessary, in the initial stages, I should invite Israel to co-operate; I believe we should have French sympathy and support, for Nasser's dream of empire means the loss to France of her North African territories. Dulles and Eisenhower would scream, but the majority of United States citizens would say 'Thank God, Britain has found herself again'.





Return now

2.IV.1954. *London*

Frontier incidents are increasing on the Israel-Jordan border, each claiming to be a reprisal for the other and both sides denying responsibility. The armistice agreement between these two countries was signed five years ago and was only intended as a temporary arrangement. The Armistice Commission and the multi-nation Observer Corps have been a complete failure. Israel has repeatedly asked for a top level conference between Jordan and Israel: Jordan has thrice refused the United Nations call for such a meeting. The whole problem could be solved in a few days by Britain who finances and maintains Jordan's Arab Legion besides subsidizing Jordan to the extent of many millions of pounds annually. If Britain wished, she could compel Jordan to come to terms with Israel but our inept Foreign Office just sits back and does nothing, carrying out her appeasement policy towards the Arabs which is based on *oil*. If open hostilities break out, which might happen at any moment and involve the whole of the Middle East in war, Britain alone is responsible, biased against Israel on anti-semitic grounds and favouring the Arab States on anxiety for *oil*.

20.VII.1954. *London*

I understand the Government propose lifting the ban on the sale of arms to Egypt, thereby wantonly jeopardizing the state of truce—uneasy though it be—between Israel and the Arab States. We have consistently shirked the obvious task of promoting a permanent peace in the Muddled East. We know Egypt is a potential enemy and yet we appease her by selling her arms. Against whom are these arms to be used? They can only be used against us on the Canal, against Sudan in an effort to annex her or against Israel. It makes me vomit. Another Munich! As Bevin will go down to history as the man who tried to kill Israel, so Eden will go down to history as the man who encouraged the Arab States to embark on a second attempt to destroy Israel. It is typical of our hebraphobe Foreign Office. Israel is bound to be with us in any East-West conflict; she has proclaimed it. She has the only efficient army in the Muddled East and holds a strategic position of vital importance to us. And yet we prefer being friends with a rotted garbage heap such as Egypt is.

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These arms will be sold to Egypt on her assurance that they will not be used against Israel and the Foreign Office have complete faith in Egyptian assurances after their conduct in the Sudan where assurances were repeatedly and flagrantly broken. Wait until the last British soldier leaves the Canal; then Egypt will act not only against the Sudan but against Israel with these very arms we are giving her. Britain's policy in the Middle East is indeed contemptible.

20.x.1954. *London*

The text of the Suez Canal Agreement was published to-day. How can we possibly trust the Egyptians to play fair? They are already breaking Article 8 by refusing Israeli shipping the use of the Canal, under the pretext that they are still technically at war with Israel. If that were the case, why do they make such a fuss when an Israeli patrol fires on one of their posts on the frontier. I am convinced that Egypt has no intention of keeping this agreement, that she is arming to attack Israel as soon as we leave and that our un-uniformed technicians are going to have a horrible time.

I saw Elath at the Israeli Embassy. He agrees with me and is very concerned with Egypt's intentions. I was able to give him some confirmatory evidence, which is not in the possession of H.M.G., namely that Jordan and Egypt have already planned their campaign against Israel as soon as we are quit of the Canal. But now that Israel knows the plan, there should not be much difficulty in defeating it much to Egypt's disadvantage.

1.XII.1954. *London*

This evening I attended a meeting of the Paladin Club at the National Liberal Club. Tony Greenwood spoke on the foreign policy of Israel. He spoke well and I agreed with every word he said. I took part in the discussion later. I thought the Arab States were using the refugees as a weapon and they did not want the matter solved; they preferred having the grievance at the expense of 700,000 destitute people of their own race; I also pointed out that the Arab States with an oil-bonus revenue of a hundred million pounds were doing nothing to help. I also pointed out that all the Arab States were relying on an





economic collapse in Israel. This I personally did not believe in. I also pointed out the difficulties in Israel for importing English books whereas they could import as many American and German books as they wished. I asked Greenwood two questions—Why are we arming the Arab States and why do we not insist on Egypt complying with the decision of the Security Council to cease blockading Israel? He said he did not know the answers; he wished he did. I also disagreed that the internationalization of Jerusalem was vital for peace. Jerusalem is the heart of Israel and must form part of it. Also, internationalization has been as much a failure as partition and corridors: compromises never succeed.

31.XII.1954. *London*

I understand that when we evacuate the Suez Canal, the base will be transferred to Cyprus and we shall tell the Greeks in Cyprus that self-determination does not apply to Cyprus; that will mean trouble. The Greeks are not Egyptians and if we get their backs up in Cyprus we shall have very serious trouble—sabotage, murder. The Greeks are very good at irregular warfare. Cyprus is not a Greek Island despite the fact that the majority of its inhabitants are Greek, these being all fairly recent immigrants from Greece. Cyprus is a Turkish island; it always had been Turkish until the end of the First World War when it became a British Crown Colony; if we have trouble with the Greeks we should tell them that if they cannot behave themselves, we shall hand the island back to the Turk, retaining our base. The Turk knows how to manage the Greek.

But it is quite unnecessary for us to go to Cyprus at all. We should have told Egypt that if they insist on our evacuating the Canal, we shall occupy that part of Sinai which formerly belonged to Turkey and which Allenby conquered in 1917 and over which Egypt had only administrative rights. Whoever sits in Sinai commands the Middle East; and it is ideally situated for a base—splendid natural aerodromes, insignificant local inhabitants, barrier between Egypt and Israel, so close to the Canal that if Egypt misbehaves we could occupy the Canal Zone, opportunity to make a second canal across Sinai to the Gulf of Aqaba and ample fresh water if developed.





7.1.1955. *London*

On January 4th, *The Times* published a letter from General Spears which made me angry. I penned a reply, commencing by pointing out the partisan and misleading nature of the letter. He says, 'Both Jordan and Libya are important to us from the point of view of defence'. How can either of those backward and badly governed countries be of the slightest use for the defence of either Britain or the Commonwealth except that they lie on our lines of communication with the East? But then so do Egypt, Cyrenaica, Israel, Yemen and many others.

Spears then goes on to say that Kuwait and Saudi Arabia could do nothing to help the Arab refugees. These two states receive £100 million in oil royalties. Surely if they had any feeling for their own people in distress, some of that fortune could be spared? The Jews have their own refugee problem and cannot be expected to help people who became refugees from Palestine because they took the advice of their own leaders; these refugees were not kicked out of Palestine by the Jews; Israel implored them to stay. Moreover this refugee problem has become an asset to the Arab League; it is being used as a weapon against Israel to incite sympathy from the U.S.A. and ourselves; I often heard that point of view in both Syria and Saudi Arabia.

Then Spears goes on to talk of Britain opening the doors of Palestine to the Jews when in fact we were constantly closing them and even slamming them. Israel was born following our scuttling and had nothing to do with American support.

Furthermore, it was the Arabs who attacked the Jews in 1944, and it is the Arabs who have refused to make peace with Israel. If a million Arab refugees, all with complaints against Israel, were to return to Israel they would constitute such a strong Fifth Column that Israel would be utterly incapable of dealing with the situation. One million saboteurs and enemy agents! Impossible.

A Note on Arab Refugees

At the outbreak of hostilities in 1948, Israel implored the Arabs of Palestine to stay where they were; a few did so and are now prosperous and contented communities. But the Mufti of Jerusa-





lem broadcast from Gaza advice to the Arabs of Palestine to 'clear out' and leave the field open for the expulsion of the Jews from Palestine. On at least two occasions British Administrative Officers advised the Arabs to go so that military invasion forces could have a clear field. In both cases Arabs were told that they would return within a week and not only get their own property back but also the property of the Jews they had evicted.

Every country is responsible for its own refugees—Greece in 1920, India and Pakistan, all of whom had more refugees than the Arabs. The Arab States demand that Israel must be responsible for Arab refugees only because they know it to be impossible and constitutes such a splendid political weapon and ideal propaganda; they do not want the problem solved; I had ample evidence of this when travelling in Arabia; the problem is a gift to Arab propaganda. The sufferings of the refugees mean nothing to the politicians of the Arab States.

The Arab States have always asked that this problem should never be discussed without reference to its original causes. One of these causes was the invasion of Israel by the armed forces of Egypt, Lebanon, Syria, Saudi Arabia, Iraq and Jordan in order to frustrate a United Nations recommendation to establish a sovereign state of Israel. The original responsibility is therefore Arab. If one admits that the Arabs started the 1948 campaign and if you admit that the refugee problem arose from that campaign and would not have arisen without it, then the Arab Governments bear prime responsibility for the creation of the refugee problem.

Israel has her own refugee problem. With her limited resources she has absorbed nearly a million Jews from every part of the world. Arab Governments, with unearned royalties of over £100 million from oil, spend practically nothing on the destitution of their own people. Moreover, if Israel were to attempt to absorb even a few refugees she would create a Fifth Column which might well help to destroy her.

If the Arabs, in their craze for destruction, had not destroyed Jewish property—the large luxury hotel and the potash works at the north end of the Dead Sea—they could have housed and found work for many thousands of refugees.





2.m.1955. *London*

Serious fighting broke out near Gaza on February 28th, between Israeli and Egyptian troops, the latter suffering over sixty casualties. It started with an Egyptian attack on Israeli troops, the latter repulsing the attack and counter-attacking the aggressors on to Egyptian soil. Like all these recent frontier incidents it is quite impossible to apportion blame; should the original aggressors be blamed or should the counter-attackers involving crossing the frontier be blamed? Like other recent incidents, the Israelis are determined to teach raiders a lesson; they are also exasperated by the Egyptian policy of open hostility. In January last, that silly little Major Salem said 'Egypt will strive to erase the shame of the Palestine war even if Israel should fulfil the U.N. resolutions. Even if Israel should consist only of Tel-Aviv, we should never put up with that.' Egypt continues to proclaim that a state of war exists between herself and Israel—a claim repudiated by the United Nations Authority; Egypt has been continually censured by the Armistice Commission for acts of sabotage, espionage and raiding based on the Gaza enclave, she has seized Israeli shipping in the Gulf of Suez and is constantly interfering with Israeli-bound traffic in the Canal, she has executed two Israelis for very doubtful cases of espionage and Israel is exasperated by the continued arming of the Arab States whose avowed intention it is to drive the Jews out of Palestine.

Britain and the United States could stop all this nonsense at once, compel the Arab States to accept Israel, but anti-semitism and oil are vested interests which we allow to interfere with common justice and common sense. Moreover, if our politicians would see it, Israel is a much more valuable friend than all the Arab States put together.

I have never understood the passionate devotion exhibited by our Foreign Office towards Egypt and everything Egyptian. Whatever happens, no matter what humiliation we suffer, Egypt must be appeased. Eden has recently been touring the East. He never visited Baghdad or Jerusalem but spends an evening with Nasser who governs the rottenest country in the Middle East. Why does he not visit Athens, Ankara or the Jews? Why Egypt of all places? Of what value is Egyptian friendship





when they hate us like poison and intend to exemplify this hate actively against us in both the Suez Canal and the Sudan? Never before was a new British policy in the Middle East required more urgently than to-day. Our present policy, based on peoples who hate us and mistrust us, is disastrous. Turkey and Israel are the two countries with whom we should and might co-operate and whom we should woo; instead we woo a prostitute among nations.

30.x.1955. *Wiltshire*

The fruits of that masterpiece of stupidity and abject surrender to Egypt—the recent agreement on the Suez Canal Zone—are now being reaped. The whole policy of a strategic defence umbrella for NATO from Greece to Pakistan is crumbling. The Soviet offer to arm the Arab States is just another communist move, aimed at creating chaos in the Middle East and threatening the West's largest supply of oil.

Our Foreign Office still hold that we only have to appease the Egyptians and other Arab States long enough, and they will love us. But the exact opposite is the case—the more we appease, the more they hate and despise us.

If the Russians can put their technicians, advisers and experts into Suez, Ismailia, Port Said and Alexandria, we are faced with a very dangerous situation.

Cyprus, which we have chosen as an alternative to the Canal Base, has been told that she is for all time to remain the slave of British Imperialism and is up in arms, chaos and terrorism reminding one of India before we left, of Palestine in 1947, and Kenya to-day; Greece is bitterly hostile, Turkey suspicious and the Kremlin laughs.

A note on Cyprus.—The island was leased to Britain by the Sultan of Turkey in 1878 as a base against possible Russian aggression. After the First World War the island became a British Crown Colony. Within historical times the island never has been Greek, always Turkish; geographically it is Turkish; the Greeks have no claim on the island beyond the claim that they constitute the majority of its inhabitants.

Tripartite condominiums or any form of partition constitute no





solution to racial claims; compromises do not lead to solutions. The Turk, though in the minority, is a better man than the Greek. My solution would be to tell the Greeks that if they cannot behave themselves, we shall hand the island back to the Turk, retaining our base and saddle the Greek Government with another refugee problem. I am quite aware that all Cypriots, including the blood-stained Makarios, are British subjects but if the island becomes Turkish, its people also become Turkish and those who dislike becoming Turkish can clear out.

And for all this sliding down hill, we must thank the United States. Their basic policy is to ruin Britain and wrest from us the superiority in trade and raw material. The whole American administration is saturated with big business and it is big business which dominates their foreign policy. It was the United States which got us thrown out of Persia and then barged in to take our place; it was the United States who compelled us to abandon the Suez Canal Base, it was the United States who encouraged Saudi Arabia to claim the Buraimi Oasis which has estranged us with an old ally and it is the United States who are doing their utmost to undermine our influence in the Middle East.

2.XI.1955. *London*

The danger of war in the Middle East becomes more acute following the collapse of Western diplomacy. It is all very well to blame the Russians for stepping in and encouraging the Arab States with arms; it is due just as much to our preference for chaos to order as it is to Russian desire to create chaos. Renewed conflict between Egypt and Israel seems imminent. We encourage Egypt with arms and appeasement but we say to Israel 'Don't have a preventive war, don't buy arms from Russia, don't expect arms from Britain or the U.S.A., in fact, don't do anything but wait and be over-run by the Arab States.'

None of these things would have happened if the Americans had not interfered and if we had not been so weak as to listen to that immature race of big business men. We should still have been on the Suez Canal if we had moved into Cairo in 1952 when British subjects were being killed by the dozen. The Sudan would not be rent in two by mutinies and civil war,





Russian arms would never have been offered to Egypt, Cyprus would be peaceful and there would be no danger of war between Israel and Egypt. We have deliberately made ourselves impotent in the Middle East, due entirely to our subservience to America and a policy of appeasement which goes much further than Munich.

I have formulated the following memorandum for Israel on the situation as I see it:

Egypt must realize that she cannot reduce Israel by economic blockade alone. Her own declarations make it abundantly clear that she intends to attack Israel at the first favourable opportunity. She will do this with or without co-operation from other Arab States. It is also clear that neither Britain nor America will lift a little finger to prevent Egypt attacking Israel in spite of guarantees if these actually exist. There will be protests and much talk before the Security Council, but no action. If this is agreed, then Israel, by her own action, must put a stop to a disastrous arms race and the risk of eventually being swamped by sheer weight as Germany, with her superior military machine, was overcome by the sheer weight of Russian numbers in the Second World War.

I shall not deal with the strength and efficiency of the Israeli armed forces as these are sufficiently well known to your own people. You are also probably well aware of the numbers and efficiency of the armed forces of the Arab States.

My own experience and knowledge of Arab armed forces is that those of Yemen, Saudi Arabia, Lebanon and Iraq can be ruled out as unfit for active service. Syria is not likely to make much impression on Israel and can be regarded as of a nuisance value only.

There remains Egypt and Jordan.

Military equipment, unless overwhelming and of the most modern quality, is of little avail by itself. The man behind the gun is more important than the gun. The man behind the gun depends on morale for his military efficiency. The Egyptian army was utterly defeated in 1948, and so recent a disaster will be constantly in the minds of all Egyptians in a second campaign. Moreover, a morale based on fear, hatred and revenge is





unlikely to prevail over a morale based on patriotism, justice and self-preservation. No amount of German officers in the Egyptian army can improve morale, though they can improve discipline and drill. Also, Egypt is politically rotten as France was in 1940 and would collapse under an initial military defeat.

I am aware of the fatal error of underestimating an enemy, but, in this case, I consider the Egyptian army to be a vastly inferior machine to that of Israel.

In the following outline of a plan, I am assuming that the bulk of the Egyptian army is east of the Canal and is more or less dispersed. I suggest the following plan:

(1) Make Egypt the aggressor. Pass a small ship through the straits at the mouth of the Gulf of Aqaba, warning Egypt that you intend to do so and that any interference will be regarded as an act of aggression. Warning not to exceed twenty-four hours.

(2) Egyptian batteries would no doubt fire on and sink the ship.

(3) Have bomber aircraft in readiness to take off so soon as the ship wirelessly that she is being fired on. The Egyptian batteries will be fully occupied sinking the ship and would not notice low-flying aircraft approaching. Smother the Egyptian batteries with bombs. Israeli bombers should be based for this attack within 150 miles of the mouth of the Gulf of Aqaba.

(4) Egypt would then have two courses open to her:

(a) Refer the matter to the Security Council.

(b) Resume open hostilities; in which case, by masking the Gaza salient, I believe you can be on the Suez Canal within fifty-six hours. Northern Sinai is admirably adapted for rapid movement and by reaching the Canal, all Egyptian communication in Sinai would be cut. Rapidity and blitz tactics are vital.

With Israel on the Canal, I believe Egypt would collapse. The morale of their army would deteriorate in proportion to the high morale which such a victory would instil into your army and your people.

(5) On reaching the Canal, *at once proclaim it to be an*





International Waterway under International Control with a neutral zone of suitable depth on either bank of the Canal.

The usual protests would pour in from Britain and the United States, with threats of Intervention; but if the operation is carried out quickly and your intentions regarding the future of the Suez Canal made public at once, much of the alarm and surprise would be allayed, for you would have accomplished what we should have done long ago.

It is unthinkable that the United States would sanction any action against Israel and Britain is much too busy in Cyprus to take any effective action. But I believe Britain to be your worst enemy. Our Foreign Office is so steeped in appeasement of the Arab States, so impotent now that the Canal Base has been abandoned and so blind to American intrigue against the Commonwealth, that they would make an effort to interfere; but I doubt if it would get beyond words. I trust Israel would show more resolution against interference than she did in 1948.

There remains Jordan and the Arab Legion, the latter financed and officered by the United Kingdom. It is inconceivable that Britain should encourage Jordan to attack Israel and start a general conflagration; Britain would be more likely to try to localize hostilities. Moreover, whatever Jordan felt, a sudden defeat of Egypt would not encourage them to attack.

My main points are:

- (1) Make Egypt the *aggressor*.
- (2) Reach the Canal in *fifty-six hours*, and at once
- (3) Proclaim it to be an *International Waterway* under *International control*, with a *neutral zone on either side* so as to isolate Egypt from Israel for all time.
- (4) Proclaim *Israeli sovereignty over Sinai*.

I see Jimmy Rothschild at a dinner of the Anglo-Israel Club has suggested that Israel become a member of the British Commonwealth. Very desirable and would solve Israel's problem and give mortal offence to all Arab States. Moreover I doubt if feeling in this country would accept such a drastic step; our Foreign Office would certainly oppose it. But I should like to see Israel apply for membership and see what reply would be given to her.





25.XI.1955. *Sussex*

We are now reaping the harvest of our maddening policy in the Middle East which has all hinged on our abandonment of the Suez Canal, continued appeasement of the Arab States and cold-shouldering Israel.

Israel believes that Egypt is unappeasable and is intent on destroying her. Eden thinks Egypt is appeasable, just as Chamberlain thought Hitler appeasable.

Britain agreed to abandon the Sudan, handing thousands of Sudanese over to misery and Egyptian mis-rule and intrigue, thinking that if we gave way over the Sudan, Egypt would be reasonable over the Suez Canal; then we abandoned the Canal under the most humiliating circumstances; then we try to impose our will on Cyprus and alienate an old ally, Greece; we continue to supply arms to Egypt and Jordan; in fact, we have done everything possible to produce chaos in the Middle East and accelerate the outbreak of hostilities between Israel and the Arab States. And now the Russians have stepped in and are arming the Arab States and down falls our policy with a crash; the policy has been wrong in its first premises, wrong in its working out and disastrous in its conclusions.

And the Americans, bent on the destruction of British influence in the Middle East, rejoice.

I am particularly concerned with our behaviour to Cyprus. Having abandoned the Suez Canal base we re-erect it in Cyprus, though we might have done so at Haifa some years ago. We start the trouble by telling Cyprus that we do not regard the right of self-determination as applicable to Cyprus. That produces nationalism in its worst form—sabotage, murder, bombs and a resistance which is out of control. We offend our old friend Greece. There is no need for it all to have happened. It is the story of blundering and complacency. From being a peaceful colony, Cyprus is now the scene of rebellion and civil war. Our position there is untenable; we ourselves have made it so.

We leave the Canal because the Egyptians made it too hot for us and go to Cyprus which is going to make it still hotter.

22.XII.1955. *London*

In a leading article in to-day's *Times*, it is said 'Britain's object





is now, as it has been since 1918, to keep the peace and to maintain friendly relations with most of the Arab States, and in this she has been as successful as conditions have allowed'. And again 'If those who demand a new Middle East policy could explain what sort of policy it should be, their criticism would carry much more weight'.

These reflections prompted me to send a letter to the Editor; of course it will not be published; * serious letters on policy are seldom published unless they emanate from a titled or distinguished person or a member of either House.

After referring to these two statements I said:

Was the Foreign Office policy of abandoning Palestine in 1948 aimed at keeping the peace when it was patent to the whole world that the Arab States would attempt to drive the Jews into the sea by force? Has our connivance at Egypt's closing the Suez Canal to Israeli shipping helped to keep the peace; has our policy in Cyprus been guided by peaceful motives or our retreat from the Sudan; have we ever seriously made an effort to enforce peace between the Arab States and Israel? Does the pouring of arms into Arab States help to keep the peace?

You ask for an alternative policy in the Middle East. Surely it has been shouted from the housetops. Our present policy is based on appeasement of the Arab States whose basic policy is to drive the Jews into the sea, at the same time we guarantee the integrity of Israel, a guarantee as futile as the one we gave Poland in 1939.

May I suggest the obvious alternative policy based on friendship with Israel. What can Israel offer us? A base in a friendly country, the best harbour in the Mediterranean, the best army this side of the Iron Curtain, the most highly cultured and best educated population in or out of Europe, a tradition and history much older than ours, a policy based on peace and friendship instead of on hate, and absolute integrity and reliability instead of the incompetence and untrustworthiness which characterizes the Arab States.

6.1.1956 *Nairobi*

What a mess Eden and the Foreign Office have made of the Middle East.

* The letter was not published.





Nasser is a dictator in Egypt and all dictators are dangerous, losing their heads, thirsting for power and usually ending up their careers in war. Nasser is no exception. In many ways he is like Hitler. He is the product of political revolution, deep social disquiet and military defeat. As Hitler wished to unite all German peoples under him, so Nasser wishes to unite all Arab countries under Egyptian leadership and his first step is the liquidation of Israel. But before he embarks on another war with Israel he must get Arab unity and he must get arms. These he is getting from Russia. Arab unity he will never get except that they are all united in wishing to drive the Jews into the sea. And neither we nor the U.S.A. do anything. The appalling ineffectiveness of our policy, blundering from one expedient to another, abandoning the Suez Canal, trying to transfer our base to Cyprus and making enemies of old friends, is manifest in the present crisis.

Neither we nor America has dared look the real truth in the face, namely, that Russia is eager to exploit and foment trouble in the Middle East, in the hope that she can introduce her poison as successfully into Africa as she did in eastern Asia. Nasser is the minor threat, Russia the major.

Appeasement has utterly failed; it has been both inept and discreditable.

The two stable influences in western Asia are Turkey and Israel. Though Israel is prepared to throw in her lot with us, we deny her arms. I have been working for a long time to try to get Israel to offer us a base at Haifa. It would check-mate Nasser, for he would not dare attack Israel with our base there and we should be surrounded by friends who possess 'the best army this side of the Iron Curtain' and they would fight to the death to protect Palestine. Moreover we should have been spared the stupidity of basing ourselves on Cyprus. I hope, before it is too late, Israel will make this offer, but I fear our Foreign Office is too steeped in anti-semitism and Eden too ill to grasp this simple solution.

No doubt Russia will encourage the Arab States to attack Israel. In that event I can see all sorts of complications arising, of futile efforts by us and the U.S.A. to stop hostilities and of Russia actively helping the Arabs. There are all the seeds of





a Third World War; and that would be the end of Britain.

25.IV.1956. *London*

The Russian undertaking to support the United Nations efforts to secure peace in the Middle East is really an undertaking to make it as uncomfortable as they can the moment they see the chance. Why should Russia help? They are now in the very centre of the Middle East stage and they intend to remain there and just bide their time to become the paramount power in the Middle East; all due to our bungling diplomacy presided over by Eden. He is no more fit to be Prime Minister than is Bevin or Shinwell.

Meanwhile the Saudi-Arabian Government have turned out the British Locust Control Unit from Jeddah and Philby has returned to Riyadh. Both moves fairly ominous.

20.VII.1956. *London*

I can see the embryo of a Third World War. Russia is slowly gaining the upper hand in the Middle East. She is using the Arab hatred of the West and the Arab avowed intention to destroy Israel in order to oust the West from the Arab World. Her influence would be paramount from the Persian Gulf to Morocco, control of Arabian oil and a strangle-hold over the Suez Canal and the Eastern Mediterranean. The Arab States by themselves are incapable of combined action and if it comes to a fight between Israel and the Arab States, Israel would win hands down. Now I learned to-day that Russia is supplying hundreds of technicians, hundreds of tanks and planes (about 300 of the former and 200 of the latter), besides millions of pounds worth of other material, to Egypt, Syria and Jordan. Israel knows it and so must our Foreign Office. Why is it not published? It is also clear that within the next six months a combined Arab attack on Israel will develop and no doubt at the last moment Russian pilots and Russian tank personnel will come in and take part in the fighting. *The material already supplied by Russia is far in excess of that required by Egypt; it includes such supplies as blankets, sheets, boots, socks and much other material which could only be for use by Russians.* This would mean the destruction of Israel who surely should





attack before an Arab offensive develops. It is her only chance. She should reach the Canal in forty-eight hours and at once proclaim it to be an International Waterway under International Control. Egypt would collapse, the United Nations, who would be hopelessly disunited, would pass resolutions and talk for weeks. Nobody would have the guts to act. But I think it would compel the United Nations to accept Israel's invitation to send an international police force to take over the Canal. That would knock out Egypt and it is doubtful if Russia could do much with Egypt off the board. The fighting qualities of the Arabs are only too well known and a combination of Jordan, Syria, Saudi Arabia and Iraq, if such a combination were possible, would be impotent. Would Russia then risk a Third World War and send troops to the Middle East? I don't know, but if she did, and attacked Israel, the risk of a major conflagration is very great.

I have little faith in Eden, still less in the United States who are obsessed with undermining British influence in the Middle East which blinds them to the Russian danger. But if their oil were threatened they might act—all too late.

27.vii.1956. *London*

The United States and ourselves have refused to finance a High Dam in Egypt. Nasser is howling his wrath and is at his nastiest; he has become the Hitler of the Nile valley, a marsh-frog uttering his loathsome croak. Israel is naturally alarmed as they think Nasser in his madness might attack. It is an odd fact that the Arabs can utter on platforms, in their Press and on the radio, the wildest, most savage threats of annihilating every Jew on the soil of what they continue to call Palestine; but if an Israeli says that his people intend to defend themselves, screams of shocked protest come from our Foreign Office and the world in general.

And now Nasser, in revenge, has announced that he has seized the Suez Canal in defiance of all international agreements; it is blatant piracy and robbery, but the inevitable result of the scuttling from Abadan, Palestine and the Suez Canal and the persistent policy of appeasement which both Churchill and Eden, in their criminal folly, have pursued towards the Arabs.





Disraeli gave us the key to the Canal. Eden and Churchill hand it back. I should not be surprised if, once again, the Jews returned us the key.

I have repeatedly preached that the only solution of the Suez Canal question is that it be made an International Waterway under International Control. My diary is ample evidence and also the two letters (unpublished) I wrote to *The Times* on May 18, 1953, and on March 18, 1954. I am amazed that our Government should have been shocked and surprised at Nasser's action. It should have foreseen his obvious next move.

Eden's first reaction is to talk; no action. He asks the United States, whose policy is to undermine our influence in the Middle East, to help and our friend Dulles is coming over. More talk. And the outcome will be further delay, more talk and interminable conferences and discussions.

The right course would have been for Eden to tell Nasser that we did not recognize his seizure of the Canal, that his seizure must be cancelled in default of which we should march in and occupy the Canal Zone and proclaim the International Waterway; at the same time asking Israel to co-operate from the Sinai side. But Eden is utterly unfit to govern this country, preferring talk to action, seeped in appeasement and completely under the thumb of the Americans.

Egypt has been stopping Israeli ships using the Canal for years but as soon as there is a threat to British shipping, we wake up and protest. This gives Israel a right to take part in internationalizing the Canal.

In August 1882, Arabi Pasha seized the dictatorship of Egypt and said 'The defence of Egypt requires the temporary destruction of the Canal'. Gladstone in the House of Commons replied:

'We feel that we should not fully discharge our duty if we did not endeavour to convert the present interior state of Egypt from anarchy and conflict to peace and order.'

Gladstone called a conference, as Eden did, but in Constantinople. In the House, Gladstone said:

'We should look for the co-operation of the Powers of civilized Europe, but if every chance of obtaining that co-





operation is exhausted, the work will be under the single power of England.'

Meanwhile the International Conference in Constantinople yawned away, but Britain acted and Wolseley was placed in command of an expeditionary force. France and Italy refused to co-operate. Wolseley landed at Ismailia and with the battle of Tel el Kebir began our occupation of Egypt and the security of the Canal.

To-day we have France solidly behind us. But unfortunately we have Eden at the helm and he will continue to talk until the Canal Crisis is a matter of history and Nasser will continue to snap his fingers at us.

Nasser, Egypt and the Canal are apt to conceal the real issue, which is paramount influence in the Middle East. America has successfully undermined our influence, hoping to establish her own; but Russia comes along and in a few months has established herself firmly throughout the Middle East, ousting both Britain and the U.S.A—a remarkable achievement.

Russia will establish an Arab Empire from Morocco to Iraq, monopolize the oil to our disadvantage and will almost certainly destroy Israel. And our silly politicians have let it happen and now find themselves unable to extricate themselves from the quagmire which they deliberately stepped into.

14.VIII.1956. *Austria*

Eden has convened an International Conference of the principal maritime Nations; it will meet in London on the 16th. Calling a conference solves nothing and has been the graveyard of the clearest policies and the firmest of resolutions. It spells delay—Russia and India will see to that. Of the twenty-one countries invited, nineteen have accepted. Egypt will never accept; Russia and India will obstruct. And why ask Abyssinia, India, Ceylon, Indonesia. Nehru is an inconsistent dreamer. A rabid anti-colonialist whilst trying to drive the Portuguese from their century-old colony of Goa, holding down thousands of Moslems in Kashmir against their wishes and behaving abominably to many local tribes such as the Nagas of Assam. And now the dreamer claims to speak for all Asia.





And why has Israel not been asked to the Conference? She has suffered more from Nasser's illegal stoppage of her Canal traffic than any other Nation. The British Government have never learned to accept the existence of Israel who is regarded as an irritating inconvenience instead of a potential support. Israel, in spite of repeated pin-pricks from the Arab States, is behaving with commendable restraint. Why not try to understand a Nation whom we helped to bring into existence and then did our best to kill. They want to be our friends, they are the only stable force in the Middle East and they have proved themselves in war to be second to none. And we ignore them: stupendous folly!

Meanwhile Eden has been speaking a lot. If he had acted at once he might have regained that prestige and respect which our politicians have thrown away in the Middle East; and we should have regained the respect of the whole world. Eden's failure only increases the contempt of not only the Arabs but the whole world. We do not want the friendship and admiration of the Arabs; nothing we did would gain us that. But we do demand respect, honest dealing and adherence to treaties and our rights.

Eden's first reaction is to consult the United States, then call a conference of twenty-one nations excluding the one—Israel—most vitally interested. That will be followed by more talk until the crisis peters out in a victory for the dictator of Egypt. Most depressing.

The Panama Canal has a five mile strip on either side which is in the absolute ownership of the United States and this strip is a military reservation. In return for the Canal, the United States guarantees the independence of Panama which seceded from Colombia under circumstances not too creditable to America. The United States is under an obligation to keep the Canal open during a war to which she is not a party.

Now if Panama had suddenly nationalized the Panama Canal, what would have been America's reaction? Would she have discussed the matter with Eden and then called a conference of maritime nations? No, she would at once have used force without taking anyone's advice, as Gladstone did in 1882 in Egypt.





19.VIII.1956. *Austria*

Talk continues and there is now small mention of military action. In fact we are now returning to appeasement. We are evading our own prime responsibility and our strong rights; it will only goad Nasser into fresh successes. Very little strength and determination would bring the whole of his paste-board regime toppling down; it would entail the re-occupation of the Canal Zone, the settlement of the Arab-Israel dispute and permanent security for one of the great waterways of the world, vital to our existence. There are, of course, risks, but the risk of doing nothing is infinitely greater. We should take the lead, no matter what India, Russia, etc. think or do. And, for God's sake, let us stop fawning on the United States.

Whatever settlement is reached, at least a mile on each bank of the Canal must be internationalized and unfortified, but with an international garrison. If not, then Egypt is in precisely the same threatening position to the Canal as she is to-day.

24.VIII.1956. *London*

I appear to be writing a lot about Suez. It is because I feel so strongly that it is a crisis which is being badly handled and if we fail to make the Canal an international Waterway under international control with a neutral zone on either side protected by an international garrison, the whole of Britain's livelihood and prosperity is at stake and to a lesser degree, the strength and prosperity of the world. Egyptian control of the Canal would be a deadly injury to Britain and the Commonwealth.

Nasser has said that the Suez Canal involved the death of 120,000 Egyptians. As a matter of fact it was a little over 200. Nasser's figures belong to Necho's Canal, built some 2,000 years ago. Again, he says that in the last war the Egyptian army defended the Canal. An Egyptian memorial on the Canal banks records this lie. As a matter of fact no Egyptian soldiers defended the Canal in either the First or Second World Wars; but we had to maintain considerable forces in metropolitan Egypt during both wars to prevent Egyptians sabotaging the Canal and other military installations.





24.VIII.1956. *London*

I understand that Israel's attempts to be represented at the Suez Conference did not find support within the Foreign Office. More fear of hurting Nasser's feelings and appeasement of the Arab States. Such is the hatred and mistrust of our Foreign Office for the only stable country in the Middle East and a people who are only too anxious to be our friends, and moreover some of the best and most efficient soldiers in the world.

There is still a small section of the British public and several Left-wing Members of Parliament and of course the Trade Unions, who advocate appeasement of the Arab States, who regard any use of force as immoral and futile, just as they did when Hitler entered the Rhineland. They say 'Drop one paratrooper in the Canal Zone, and Britain is finished.' And the Christian view is that by sacrifice and service in the interest of others, we may gain what we want without resort to force. These views condemn force to defend vital interests or resist aggression, some going so far as to think that by attacking Egypt, we are undertaking an impossible task. Others say that we abandoned the Suez Canal because of Egyptian sabotage and that any re-occupation would entail further sabotage. As a fact, we could have stopped all sabotage and crime in the Canal Zone if we had adopted sterner methods; but we failed to do so for fear of offending the Egyptians.

Let us examine the facts. A military dictator has seized power in Egypt; he has established a police state; he has established close relations with Russia who urges him to further excesses; he is in a state of war with Israel whom he has sworn to destroy; he has flouted the United Nations and still stops Israeli shipping from using the Canal and the Gulf of Aqaba. He has proclaimed his intention to establish an Arab Empire from Morocco to the Persian Gulf, including the Sudan and no doubt Uganda, and now he challenges our very existence by seizing the Canal knowing full well the meaning of such action. In doing this he has broken all treaties, all promises and is in a position to ruin us.

We are now told by a small body of pacifists, conscientious objectors and fanatics that it is immoral to call a halt to Nasser's actions. We are also told that force must never be employed, because it is morally wrong; it solves nothing and is un-





Christian; in other words we are asked to turn the other cheek and admit that we have not the guts to defend ourselves; why not disband our armed forces and adopt Denmark's attitude of permanent neutrality, allowing anyone to kick us around whenever they will, even to occupying and exploiting Britain.

To refuse to use force because it is too dangerous is just an appeal to cowardice; we are told that to compel Nasser to call a halt might inflame the whole Arab world and perhaps start a Third World War. I am quite sure that Russia is in no state to embark on a war. Instead we are invited to produce a worse degree of economic inflammation and the well-deserved scorn of the world. It would mean that we had sunk so low that we can no longer defend ourselves or our vital interests; and we would lose whatever self-respect we still retain.

Anything worth having and vital to our existence is worth fighting for.

The U.S.A. continue to condemn the use of force and carry out their old policy of undermining our influence everywhere. Eisenhower has openly agreed with Nasser. If the U.S.A. had decided to use force at the start and come down heavily on our side, it would all have been over by now; but they prefer their old policy of sabotaging our interests everywhere in the world to slake their thirst for world power.

It has now been decided to send a deputation to Nasser informing him of the Conference's proposals; Menzies of Australia heads this futile deputation. Nasser will play for time and eventually say No; and then what? More talk, reference to U.N.O., Russian veto and we are where we were when it started. What imbecile ineptitude and criminal weakness on Eden's part.

6.IX.1956. *South Uist*

Nasser having said No to the Conference, Eden is now proposing to refer the matter to U.N.O. I cannot imagine a more stupid move, for whatever is decided will be vetoed by Russia. And Eden also proposes to form a Users' Association and have a test run through the Suez Canal; just asking for another snub; it is all very depressing.





23.IX.1956. *London*

Eighteen nations from all over the world have failed to agree on what procedure to adopt towards an aggressor. Such is the inevitable result of conferences and talk. We are no nearer to ending an intolerable situation; Nasser wants time and we present him with it; America is playing for time, intent on defeating any chance of Britain regaining her influence and prestige in the Middle East. Why do we continue to play America's game?

The new idea of a Users' Association is a silly dream; it is no solution even if successful; and if a ship was sent to test this silly solution, Nasser would just refuse entry to the Canal unless it conformed to his own rules.

And now we want to take the question to the United Nations, America does not and France is all for military action. What a mess! Every time these nations meet, solutions are watered down until finally nothing will be done and Nasser will roar with laughter. It has been ten days of utter confusion and a useless waste of time and a continual watering down of Eden's first pronouncement.

The Labour Party has not come out of it well. In his first speech, Gaitskell denounced Nasser, comparing him with Hitler, approved the troop movements and agreed that Nasser must not get away with it. But he then surrendered to the pacifists, the friends of every country but their own, the men to whom Britain is always wrong. Gaitskell has shown that he has no moral courage; he now says that the Users' Association is an act of provocation. If a man steals something from another man and that man tries to recover his property, it is 'an act of provocation'.

The big question is lost sight of—Russia's bid for control of all the Arab States, the subversion of the Sudan and Somalia, then Uganda and so on. And of course the destruction of Israel.

I have read that in the play 'Hassan', there is a discussion on the wonders performed by a Jewish magician. Selim says 'And strangest of all, at Cairo, for the amusement of the Sultan, he turned the whole population into apes for half an hour.' 'A very trifling change,' replies Hassan.

The Labour Party have divided the country in two making





political capital out of a national issue. I should like to ask Gaitskell these questions:

- (1) Do you acknowledge that in the Suez Canal issue a vital national interest is at stake?
- (2) Do you stand by the rule of law and the sanctity of engagements between nations?
- (3) Do you agree with the plan worked out by eighteen nations for an international authority as the constructive basis of British policy? Or are you going to sacrifice the interests of your country for partisan purposes?

4.x.1956. *London*

Dulles continues to dilute the plan of the London Conference, to ruin united action and undermine our influence in the Middle East. On September 27th, he held a Press Conference in Washington. His words deliberately undermine united action and by further delays play into Nasser's hands. In Dulles' view, Nasser can safely be left to the consequences of his own action. And after all, American interest in the Canal is very small, for most of her ships fly the Panama or Liberian flag and, even including them, American shipping is only 8 per cent of all ships using the Canal.

Moreover Dulles is distorting the issues. His action must be bitterly resented by his friends over here. On October 2nd he taunts us with that beloved expression 'colonialism', trying to make out that the Suez dispute is the result of British Colonialism. It deliberately misrepresents the Suez issue. With the Security Debate imminent, his words are a gross misrepresentation of the facts and a grave disservice to Anglo-American unity.

Nobody appears to recognize the big issue behind the Suez dispute, which is Russian domination of the Middle East and all countries from Morocco to the Persian Gulf.

It is quite clear that Egypt's aim after securing the Canal—and this she will do thanks to the Americans and the blundering of our politicians—is to attack Israel with the help of Russian arms. I have to-day seen an order issued by the Commander of Egypt's 3rd Infantry Division deployed near El Arish. It was issued on February 15th and reads:





'Every commander must prepare himself and his soldiers for the important battle with Israel in which we are fully immersed, with the aim of realizing our lofty tradition, that is to overpower and destroy Israel in the shortest possible time and with the greatest brutality and bestiality in battle.'

There is no doubt that this attack on Israel is imminent. But I have no fear. The Jews are second to none in fighting qualities; their equipment is varied and of many types and they are capable of defeating any Arab army or combination of armies which can be put into the field. They could be on the Suez Canal in two days and in Damascus in less than that time.

But what the Israelis possess is fanatical determination, great skill and the technique of a rapid mobilization which enables them to put in the field a quarter of a million men and women in forty-eight hours. Israel has also the immense advantage of a highly educated population, technically skilled, to whom modern military equipment presents no great mysteries.

5.x.1956. *London*

Copy of a letter to the Editor, *Time and Tide*.*

Editor: *Time and Tide*.

Can somebody give me the answers to the following questions?

(1) Why are not the culprits who handed the key to the Canal back to Egypt, blamed for the present crisis?

(2) Why were we told that our position on the Canal was rendered impossible by Egyptian sabotage and murder, and then we chose Cyprus where conditions are even worse?

(3) What would the United States have done if Panama had nationalized the Panama Canal? Would they have sent for Eden, then arrange a conference, then a deputation to the President of Panama and then refer the matter to U.N.O.? The simile is not exact, but the crime is similar.

(4) Why was not Israel asked to the London Conference? She has suffered more than other nations from Nasser's illegal practices. Why do we continue to ignore our only friend in the Middle East, and a nation possessing the 'best army this side of the Iron Curtain'?

* Needless to say, this was not published.





(5) Why were Abyssinia and Indonesia asked to the London Conference? Why not ask Nicaragua, Formosa and other states whose interest in the Canal is negligible?

(6) Why have we not been told that from the fiasco of Abadan to the present day, the United States policy has centred around the undermining of British influence in the Middle East? And that our continual abdication from responsibility, sponsored by America, is at the root of the trouble?

(7) Why, when Nasser tears up a treaty, do we not do likewise and nationalize the River Nile? We have this weapon against Egypt; why do we not use it?

R. M.

7.x.1956. *London*

Some of the speeches on Suez are almost beyond belief, giving comfort to Nasser and making it as difficult as possible for Lloyd who is putting our case to the Security Council. One speaker, referring to talk of appeasement, said it was 'damnable balderdash'; another speaker said that the Labour Party stood 'on the side of the Egyptian people struggling for their national aspirations'; another said 'we must recognize the right of Arab States to nationalize their oil wells'. Thus have the socialists destroyed national unity in the Suez issue and have sacrificed the nation's interests to a transient Party advantage, making it impossible for Britain to negotiate from strength before the Security Council and in talks with Nasser.

8.x.1956. *London*

Many persons regard Britain and the United States as a single force with identical interests and as aloof from continental Europe; this is largely due to economic dependence and linguistic equality. I believe this to be dangerously false. British interests and British security are European, not American, and often in conflict with American policy. The United States is concerned with American interests and is only concerned with European interests in so far as they affect American interests; Europe, or rather Free Europe, is a single international entity. We should not blame America for this outstanding fact for she is in-





experienced in the wicked ways of the world, she is saturated with isolationism and idealistic as only immaturity can be. American leadership cannot be directed at anything other than American interests. The Atlantic Alliance is no answer to all Europe's troubles; we must stand on our own feet and free ourselves from control of others merely because they are bigger and richer. Western Europe should become a moral, economic and political bloc, subject neither to American domination nor leadership, nor to threats and taunts from Russia or from Asian-Arab so-called anti-colonial Powers. The United States, obsessed with undermining British prestige throughout the world and clinging to that call of hypocrisy 'anti-colonialism', has gone full speed in reverse and is rapidly reaching the stage of turning a blind eye to the burglar having the run of the house, because it is not an American house. So far as America is concerned, Britain is just an island in the Atlantic, a recipient of charity and a convenient outpost.

The Atlantic Alliance is not Britain's key for the future; it is a dangerous and false hope; we and the Americans are not true companions, our only common factor being language. Free Europe, despite language, has much more in common with Britain. America is trying to make us realize that we are no longer a great nation; that utterly false doctrine must be fought and exploded. I believe Europe is once more awakening, France is on her feet again and I believe that we British should now assume leadership of Free Europe in all matters resulting from aggression in Europe and in all matters which vitally affect Free Europe's safety or economy.

We should remember that America's dollar greatness has accrued through selfish neutrality in two world wars, in which she only took part after two years' hesitation at the expense of suffering humanity. We have no guarantee that this might not recur. In the event of a Russian-sponsored invasion of Western Germany by East Germany, America might still hesitate as she has done on two occasions and only risk herself when the tide begins to turn. An American-controlled United Nations is no answer to Europe's problems.

Under British leadership, a Union of Free Europe should be set up. If possible this Union should be within the framework





of the United Nations Organization, but that is not vital. All Free Europe should be invited to join, and Turkey and Israel. No doubt, members of the British Commonwealth, who consider their safety and economy to be wrapped up with Western Europe, would wish to join.

If Europe wishes to survive we must form a common front based on mutual obligations; we must arm to sustain those obligations and be ready to use force against aggression if necessary. Fear of using force encourages aggression.

British retreat from the Middle East is directly attributable to American intrigue, and creates a vacuum which the Americans with their primitive methods of arms and dollars cannot fill. In fact, the Arabs filled the vacuum, not the Russians. And it soon emerged that neither we nor the Americans had any definite policy for the Middle East. Arms and dollars are no policy and could not stand up to professional propagandists, sociologists, economists and diplomats such as the Kremlin employed in their cold war, all ingredients of successful communist penetration. The Kremlin made common cause with Arab nationalism; both we and the Americans assumed a paternal interest in the Arab States, appeasing them with dollars and weapons. The Western blunders have been the Kremlin's greatest asset; and petty jealousies and rivalries between the United States, France and Britain made Russian infiltration all the easier.

9.x.1956. *London*

To-day I attended a meeting at Chatham House when a Conservative Member—Gilbert Longden—and a Labour Member—Denis Healey—each gave their party's view on the Suez Crisis. It largely dealt with events leading up to the present crisis and scarcely touched on remedial measures, though there were a few references to the initial threat of using force. There was little discussion on what will happen if Nasser 'gets away with it'.

I posed my seven questions (on pp. 292-3) and got no satisfactory answers. In fact, the word Israel was scarcely mentioned from start to finish.

I thought that, important though the Suez issue is, it is





insignificant beside the larger issues:

(a) Is Russia going to dominate the Middle East and the whole Arab World from Morocco to the Persian Gulf, urging Arab States to nationalize their oil, oust the Americans and replace them with Russian technicians? We shall then only get what oil Russia chooses to give us and at their own prices. Longden thought it would be a good thing if Arabian oil was nationalized but did not appreciate the result.

(b) If the United Nations fail to act on the Suez issue and allow it to peter out in talk, then the organization will perish as did the League of Nations when they failed to act when Mussolini invaded Abyssinia.

(c) Nasser wants money. I would not put it above the United States to offer to buy the Canal and run it, together with a strip of Americanized territory on either bank. That surely would make Britain look extremely stupid and close for all time our prestige in the Middle East. And throughout the world.

Abadan was built up by a British Company which was illegally ousted with American encouragement. Its substitute is a tangled American arrangement with no benefit to anyone except America but has done permanent damage to British prestige and interests not only in the Middle East but throughout the world. We are now reaping the fruits of American intrigue and British weakness.

14.x.1956. *London*

The hopeless tangle into which the Government have drifted owing to a policy of compromise and appeasement, allowing themselves to be undermined by the United States and kicked about by Russia, shows how utterly unfit they are to govern. We are drifting to disaster through weakness and indecision. There is no leadership, faith or policy, everything hinging on electoral expediency. I can see no hope for the country under Eden. Out, vile jelly. If there was an election tomorrow the Conservatives would be defeated, they have been weighed in the balance and found wanting. Our only hope would be if the Left-wing conservatives joined the Liberal Party and the





Right-wing of Labour did likewise. But that is impossible.

In the Middle East there is an amazing mess of inconsistencies.

Let me go back. The Balfour Declaration grants to the Jews a right to establish their national home in Palestine. Every obstacle has been placed in their way by successive British Governments. Then Churchill in 1921 hands over Transjordan, an integral part of Palestine, to an Arab sheikh who is made a 'king'. Then Bevin, unable to keep order in Palestine and influenced by anti-semitism in his office, scuttles out of Palestine leaving the Jews at the mercy of six Arab States who promptly invade Palestine and attempt what Bevin wished, to drive the Jews into the sea. Israel had to fight for her life in 1948, and lost much land including the whole of eastern Palestine, Old Jerusalem and the Gaza strip. Britain stands by and does nothing, though when Egypt gets a thrashing and Israel is about to overrun Sinai and march on the Suez Canal (which she would have internationalized) Britain, through the United States (for we were not then on speaking terms with Israel), tells Israel to stop. Israel, being young and a bit nervous, stops. Then Egypt stops Israeli shipping passing through the Canal and up the Gulf of Aqaba. She is condemned by the Security Council who are impotent and unwilling to go beyond a reprimand.

Jordan is heavily subsidized by Britain and British officers are with the Jordan forces; and yet this country is bitterly hostile to Britain and in thorough sympathy with Egypt. We have poured arms into Jordan, whilst refusing arms to Israel. Jordan, at the instigation of Egypt, conducts a campaign of frontier raids into Israel and Israel retaliates with success. Jordan gets frightened and asks for aid from Iraq who sends troops towards Jordan. Israel says that if Iraq troops enter Jordan a very serious situation will arise. Britain warns Israel, that if she crosses the Jordan frontier, she will come to Jordan's aid. Israel is our only friend in the Middle East and we not only ignore her but quarrel with her. Jordan loathes us and is supporting Egypt and we support her with arms and money.

29.x.1956. *Norfolk*

The appeasement of Arab States continues. Jordan continues





to receive an enormous subsidy from Britain though she is bitterly hostile. And now, when the avowed intention of the Arab States is to destroy Israel and when Iraq troops are massing on the Jordan-Iraq frontier and Egypt is making nightly raids into Israel territory, both H.M.G. and the United States warn Israel not to mobilize or take any precautions to fend off an attack by Arab States which is clearly imminent. Such action by us and the United States is worse than stupid, it is grossly unjust and an encouragement to the Arab States to attack Israel. But I trust Israel will pay no attention to such a warning and will forestall the Arabs by launching a crushing blow against Egypt, the main enemy; this she can easily do and in forty-eight hours she will be on the Suez Canal, which she will proclaim to be an international waterway.

And what can the United Nations do if either Israel or the Arabs are the aggressor. They will talk and pass innumerable resolutions, Russia vetoing any with which she disagrees, and nothing will happen. She is powerless to enforce any resolution for lack of an international police force; this should have been done long ago; such a police force cannot hope to stop a major war but small wars, which might set the whole world ablaze, could be checked by an international force of about 10,000 men with aircraft and other accessories.

(same day: evening)

Israel has launched an offensive against Egypt, penetrating far into Sinai, reaching Nekhl and is now within easy striking distance of the Suez Canal. Well done, Israel! I am delighted and thrilled. At last the talk has stopped and action has stepped in. We and the U.S.A. will protest and threaten intervention. But I hope Israel will go forward, occupy the Canal Zone, internationalize the Canal and not desist until some form of international police can take over the Canal Zone.

Very few people in this country realize Israel's peril in being surrounded by heavily-armed Arab States, who might attack her at any moment and consider it wrong that she should forestall such an attack. And the loss of the Suez Canal to Western Europe is little understood in America, or, if understood, is ignored and perhaps welcomed.





30.X.1956. *Norfolk*

Eden has sent a note to Egypt and Israel, announcing his intention to send British and French troops to occupy the Canal Zone and asking both countries to withdraw to ten miles from both banks of the Canal. That is a pity; Israel should have been allowed to do this. Meanwhile Israel has occupied almost the whole of Sinai and the Egyptian army, in spite of Russian tanks and personnel, has just cleared out without a fight.

Israel will certainly conform to Eden's wishes, but Nasser will refuse. So we shall prevent Nasser from being annihilated by Israel and at the same time we shall be fighting Nasser on the Canal—a ridiculous situation. Speed is now essential. I trust we shall subject Egyptian troops on the Canal and aerodromes to an intense bombardment from the air and then, at once, drop paratroops. From what I know of Egyptian troops, opposition will be negligible and surrenders will be wholesale.

How I wish I were out there instead of sitting in North Norfolk with a gale blowing from the north.

This written immediately after the six o'clock news. We shall listen in again at 9 p.m.

Nine o'clock news. Egypt has said No and Israel has said Yes to Eden's ultimatum. Splendid, but I should have preferred to let Israel occupy the Canal. I cannot help feeling that Eden has acted quickly for fear that Israel should occupy the Canal Zone. In any case, Israel's quick victory over the Egyptians has made it very easy for us and Eden should be duly grateful to Ben-Gurion.

And I am delighted that for once we have not consulted the Americans who at any cost are determined that we shall not regain our prestige in the Middle East. The Americans are furious and they will now try to generate a hatred for us throughout the world. There is still no suggestion of forming an international police force to take over the Canal.

In the House of Commons this afternoon Eden stressed the value of our shipping passing through the Canal and the danger it runs if Israel and Egypt are fighting in the Canal Zone; that argument is a red herring for there is as much danger to the Canal if we and the Egyptians start fighting in the Canal Zone. But in any case Nasser will sink as many ships as he can





in the Canal and render it useless for many months. The real issues are—shall we compel Egypt to internationalize the Canal, thereby regaining our prestige in the Middle East and halt Russian and American influence in an area which is peculiarly our own? It looks as though Israel, by her protective action brought on by repeated threats from Egypt, has compelled Britain to find herself and at last take action and stop talking.

A fearful outburst in the House of Commons, the Labour Party, furious at Eden's action, all for purely party purposes. Such action by a lot of ill-informed, narrow-minded and stupid politicians, divides the country in two and might have a disastrous effect on our troops.

Egyptian threats to Israel

The following threats by Egypt are taken mainly from *Voice of the Arabs*:

June 4th, 1955:

The Egyptian, Syrian, and Saudi Arabian armies will fight with determination to exterminate Zionism in the second round of the Palestine war.

June 6th, 1955:

We emphasize once more that Israel will not exist long in the land of Arabism, and that there will be no negotiations between the robbers and their victims.

June 17th, 1955:

We have sworn an oath—which we will never break—before Almighty God that we will fight to drive you out, that we will fight you across every inch of Palestine.

August 31st, 1955:

Egypt is preparing millions of Commandos to be used against you.

October 29th, 1955:

There will be no stability until this small but evil State is stifled.

In face of these threats, the United Nations fail to see the seeds of armed aggression and appear to think that if a man advances on you with an axe, you must not defend yourself until he actually strikes. Israel is accused of an act of aggression.





Is warding-off a long-advertised attack an act of aggression?
Is defence an act of aggression?

Egypt claims that one member of the United Nations can maintain a state of war against another member, that the Arab-Israel war has never ended and that Egypt can pursue it by any means and at any time; at the same time she complains if Israel defends herself. And the United Nations take no action—lots of words but no action. Impotence reigns over justice.

31.x.1956. *Norfolk*

This morning came the news that an Egyptian destroyer has been captured by the Israelis at Haifa, that Israeli forces have reached to within ten miles of the Canal where they have halted but that Nasser has said No. The nine o'clock news announced our bombing of airfields in Egypt.

America is furious and impotent, Gaitskell and the Labour Party continue to try to split the country in two when our soldiers are fighting, Russia is slaughtering Hungarians and actively supporting Egypt and the Arab States and the Security Council is floundering in a welter of resolutions, deliberations and protests but is powerless and utterly impotent for lack of any instrument with which to enforce decisions. My estimation of Eden has gone up. I never thought he had it in him.

Criticism of our action is pure hypocrisy due to a desire to gain some party advantage, to ignorance, and to an unjustified faith in the power of the United Nations. The Arab States have announced their intention to wipe out Israel; Egypt has been conducting raids into Israel territory for many months and has been receiving immense quantities of arms and other assistance from Russia; the United Nations have proved themselves to be an ineffective instrument for enforcing order anywhere in the world and Russia is interfering effectively in the Middle East and giving all the support she can to the Arab States with whom we are now in active conflict.

I should like to ask Gaitskell what he would have done if he had been Prime Minister; would he have relied on the United Nations to enforce peace, protect the Canal which is vital to our interests and the happiness and prosperity of England, would





he have allowed matters to drift until Russian troops and planes arrived in the Middle East? What would he have done?

This confidence in the United Nations is a positive danger. It has been surrounded with a mystical significance out of all proportion to its real effectiveness. Recent happenings in the Middle East and in Europe have merely outlined what should already have been well known. Russia knows it; we have yet to learn that the United Nations is just an inefficient ghost, incapable of action but wallowing in futile talk.

1.XI.1956. *Norfolk*

The Americans are furious at our armed intervention in Egypt. Splendid. One of the best results of our intervention is the breaking away from American apron strings and showing the Yanks that we still have a kick in us.

The Arab States, stunned by Israel's rapid advance and the complete defeat of the Egyptian Army in two days, are holding their hand. Gaza and El Arish are surrounded and should surrender in a day or so. I trust our bombing of Egyptian air-fields will be followed up at once by landings. Success depends largely on speed. No opposition need be expected from the Egyptian Army, no matter how many Russian weapons they possess.

The Opposition still claim that the matter must be referred to the United Nations, ignoring the fact that any such reference would be useless. A long list of failures, due largely to the use of the Russian veto and to inevitable disagreement among so many nations, and with no means of enforcing decisions, are the hall-mark of the ineptitude of this international debating society.

I should still like to know what the Opposition would have done if they had been in power. If they had referred it to the United Nations, Israel would now be sitting on the Canal and fighting, with high casualties, would have resulted with the possibility of Russian intervention and a Third World War.

Gaitskell asks us to 'obey the United Nations and accept whatever they say'. Are the United Nations infallible with the United States employing the most immoral lobbying, especially of South American countries, often under threats? Moreover





the United Nations cannot give orders, they can only recommend and they have no power, no force, behind their policy. Any policy, without force behind it, is just fatuous and empty words.

2.XI.1956. *Norfolk*

Five o'clock news. Gaza and El Arish have fallen. Hundreds of Russian tanks captured. United States furious. United Nations dis-united and have been re-christened a 'political eunuch'. A vote of censure in the House of Commons defeated by sixty-nine votes. The Russians have no intention of leaving Hungary and are shooting down men, women and children in the streets of Budapest. Meanwhile, Nasser is saying the Egyptians will fight to the last man.

At last some bright person, a member of the 'political eunuch', has suggested an international police force to take over the Canal. That will be many weeks hence and months before it is efficient. And what if Egypt refuses to have it. Shall we remain on or evacuate the country to further chaos? Israel now has the whole of Sinai and Ben-Gurion speaks as though he means to keep it.

A United Nations police force of sufficient strength would be a tremendous asset. But could it not be rendered impotent by the veto? And to be any use it must be composed of all three arms under one supreme commander and of sufficient strength to deal with all minor crises; no force can deal with a major crisis. I can see immense difficulties and pit-falls and the dis-united nations are scarcely the body to forge an efficient and practical solution.

3.XI.1956. *Suffolk*

An excellent broadcast by Eden, who has gone up in my estimation. He is defying the 'Political Eunuch' and remaining on the Canal until a United Nations Police can replace our troops. This latter is now being improvised but could not possibly take over the Canal Zone for many weeks with any degree of efficiency. The air attack on Egyptian aerodromes continues. Speed is now essential before Nasser completely blocks the Canal. I trust our troops are already disembarking at Port Said and Suez. What a pity Israel did not go on and occupy the Canal Zone.





4.XI.1956. *Suffolk*

Gaitskell broadcast last night. The B.B.C. should never have allowed him to reply to the Prime Minister and spread his poisonous propaganda which is purely party politics. Eden spoke as the leader of the Nation to explain the issue at stake in a grave emergency. There was no necessity for a Party retort.

Bombing aerodromes in Egypt continues. No news of a landing, which is a pity.

5.XI.1956. *London*

We landed at Port Said early this morning and captured the aerodrome. Port Said surrendered this evening. So much for Nasser's 'fight to the last man'.

Gaitskell, an old Wykhamist, bears a heavy load of responsibility for splitting the country in two for party purposes. He has revealed a hitherto unsuspected capacity for rabble-rousing; and the rabble has indeed been roused. He claims that our action in Egypt has brought about Russia's brutal repression in Hungary of the Peoples' freedom. Gaitskell's words can only encourage the Russians. His accusation comes ill from the lips of any British politician and is as utterly baseless as the charges made by Bulganin yesterday which is a document of cunning and menace almost unique in diplomatic history.

10.XI.1956. *London*

On the 7th, Ben-Gurion addressed the Knesset in Jerusalem, a victory speech, confident that at last Israel was secure. But to-day Russian preparations in Syria have cast a gloom over Israel. Ben Gurion announced a complete reversal of his victory speech. He offers to withdraw from Sinai. Victory has been turned into defeat. What influenced Ben Gurion? A substantial threat from Russia, also an economic threat from America. It is also suspected that both Britain and France have told Israel that they would not be in a position to help Israel if the Russians attacked on the Korean pattern. This is tragic and very disappointing. Are we really going to stand aside and see Israel wiped out by Arabs assisted by Russia. America would no doubt find all sorts of reasons for non-intervention. But we, having given Israel their National Home, can hardly





stand aside and see her wiped out. If so, it will be a disgrace from which we shall never recover.

In any case, Israel must retain the Gaza strip which is not really Egyptian territory. The fact remains that Israel has destroyed one-third of the Egyptian army and has captured an impressive amount of Egyptian war material, including much sent by Russia. If their splendid victory has been negated by outside pressure, they can comfort themselves that they have the admiration of the civilized world and that Egypt will not be in a position to attack Israel or give powerful support to other Arab States for some time. But it is all very depressing and might never have happened if only we and the U.S.A. would stand up to Russia.

11.XI.1956. *London*

I am most disappointed at our very limited success in Egypt. We occupy about 20-30 miles of the Canal; we do not effectively separate Israel from Egypt; Nasser can still do untold damage to the Canal.

We should have acted and landed in Egypt when Nasser seized the Canal many weeks ago; but, not having done so, Israel invaded and swept out the Egyptians. We should have encouraged them to occupy the Canal Zone until United Nations forces could take over. We did not do so but landed at Port Said after a much-too-long air attack. We should then have pushed south down the Canal and completed its occupation or have asked the Israelis to do so. And, finally we should stand up to Russia, outlaw her, apply the same restrictions on her nationals as she applied to ours behind the Iron Curtain: we should stop all trade, send their Embassies packing and encourage the peoples of Russian satellites to rebel, giving them every possible assistance; the fact is we are afraid of war, a state of mind almost certain to produce what we fear. It wants a much tougher man than Eden to deal with Russia, and America would, for the third time in the last fifty years, refuse to join in until she had increased her profit at the expense of suffering humanity.

I should tell the Arab States in no uncertain terms that if they persist in their policy of trying to destroy Israel, both we and





America and the whole of the Free Nations would give Israel every possible assistance.

I should approach Israel with a view to setting up our Middle East Base at Haifa; if she refuses, as I suspect she would now, she might agree to 'staff talks', or occupy Sinai.

And finally I should publish to the world about Russian Labour and Concentration Camps and the cruelties being perpetrated on thousands of people because they disagree with Russian policy; this great Russian crime is even worse than the Concentration Camps of Hitler, which were never published until after the 1939 war broke out.

12.XI.1956. *London*

Bevan, with his magnetic influence over mobs of people incapable of thinking, is doing his best to keep the country divided on the Suez Canal issue.

Russia now threatens to send thousands of 'volunteers' to the Middle East unless Israel retires to the Armistice Line and we and the French evacuate the Canal Zone. Russia claims that this is a spontaneous movement by outraged citizens of the U.S.S.R.

Russia is certainly making capital out of the Suez Crisis. She is trying to build up a second Korea and also trying to cover up her atrocities in Hungary. If Russia seriously considers sending troops to the Middle East she is going to have a difficult transport problem over the Eastern Mediterranean which is dominated by Cyprus; also their maintenance will be a difficult problem in Arab countries where inefficiency is rampant.

But the threat has great propaganda value among a lot of silly Arabs.

The Hungarians are still resisting and the 'Political Eunuch' is still protesting.

Let Russia massacre thousands in Hungary, let Nasser deny Israeli ships the use of the Canal and send raiding parties into Israel, arm the Arabs in French North Africa and proclaim that they will exterminate Israel, and the United Nations are impotent; but if a country attempts to defend itself or, in the case of Britain and France, insist that international agreements be honoured, then indignation and condemnation flow from





U.N.O., the majority of whom have little or no interest in the Suez Canal or the fate of Israel.



15.XI.1956. *London*



Egypt has announced that 50,000 Russian volunteers together with another 50,000 from Indonesia and 5,000,000 from Communist China are prepared to come to the rescue of the Arab States and annihilate Israel. What a marvellous dream! Do they come as individuals or as organized bodies recruited by their respective governments? I trust we and the U.S.A. make it quite clear that such an invasion would mean war. But I suspect it is all bluster to keep the Middle East cauldron simmering and to conceal the terrible atrocities now being committed by the Kremlin in Hungary.

16.XI.1956. *London*

The first units of the United Nations police force have arrived in Egypt, but they will be quite useless for many months. I am much afraid that the United Nations are utterly impotent and incompetent to deal with the situation and that so soon as British and French troops are withdrawn, Egypt will again gain control of the Canal and we shall be exactly where we were three months ago and Nasser will have won, except that he has been signally defeated by Israel. In the meantime Russia is creating every possible difficulty to hide her abominable behaviour in Hungary where the United Nations are equally impotent.

Nasser has cut the sweet water canal supplying Port Said with water. I hope we shall let Port Said go without fresh water and compel Nasser to repair the Canal, but I suppose, as usual, we shall submit.

The Secretary of U.N.O. has been to Cairo; talks with Nasser and apparently nothing achieved. What a mess they have made of the whole business.

In spite of the effort of Labour to divide the country in two, the majority of educated opinion would have supported Eden in his policy if he had had the strength to carry it through; there was speed and resolution to start with but it rapidly dwindled. The assault on Egypt was too long delayed and once





started with success was checked with a bewildering and humiliating effect on the troops and on this country. We should either have encouraged Israel to occupy the whole Canal Zone or done it ourselves in the face of the United Nations and Russia. Instead we have achieved nothing. The cease-fire order was a catastrophe no doubt sponsored by the United States who are fearful lest we recover our prestige in the Middle East. Did we submit to a threat of economic sanctions by the U.S.A.; if so why? Would we have submitted to such blackmail by Russia or Egypt? At present our task is only half finished and had better not have been undertaken. The Canal is blocked by about fifty ships—Nasser's doing—and Europe will be short of oil—what America and Russia wants. Never did we want determined leadership more than to-day. Eden has proved his timidity, but who can replace him? Are we so bankrupt that no Englishman can stand up for his own country?

19.XI.1956. *London*

Mr Hammarskjold of the United Nations has seen Nasser; he apparently went as a suppliant, treating Nasser as an aggrieved party. He should have gone with a thick stick in his hand, accused Nasser of forcing Israel to attack, of sabotaging the Canal and breaking international agreements. The result of his visit will only confirm to Nasser that he has won and inflicted a maximum of harm to the West. Meanwhile, the United Nations police force is arriving in Egypt in dribbles, without organization and without commander (Burns is in New York), and without a definition of their role. A hopeless mess.

Eden is on the point of collapse and trying to justify his faltering policy which has left us in a worse position than if we had never interfered. And Labour continues to try to split the country in two, both Gaitskell and Bevan surpassing themselves in invective and abuse.

Oil is short in the West and petrol rationing seems likely. Just what Nasser and Russia want.

Work began at Basrah to-day on unloading a shipment of arms for Iraq from Britain. This is the second shipment to arrive in recent weeks, the earlier shipment having included tanks.





The present shipment includes nineteen Centurian tanks, three tankdozers, two Centurion armoured recovery vehicles, and fifty Land Rovers. The remainder of the shipment consists of ammunition and equipment.

This is the second shipment in a series due for delivery this year as the result of an order placed by the Iraq Ministry of Defence totalling £2,755,000. It will be recalled that this sum was placed at the disposal of Iraq as a result of Britain handing over British bases to Iraq. Two more shipments are known to have left Britain and to be en route for Iraq.

We are pouring arms into Iraq, the sole purpose of which can be to attack Israel. Will our Foreign Office never learn? They are dragging Britain down by their ruinous Middle East policy of appeasing the Arabs and hostility to Israel and by their inability to stand up to America.

22.XI.1956. *London*

The Americans are raising the scare of collusion between Britain, France and Israel; that we persuaded Israel to attack Egypt, etc. The whole scare is unfounded and ridiculous. Our War Office and the Government thought Israel was about to attack Jordan and warned them not to do so; also why, if there was collusion, did we stop Israel just as she was reaching the Canal; it was one of Eden's great blunders.

Eden, unable to bear the burden of error, has retired to the West Indies. Never in my life has a Prime Minister and a Government made such a criminal mess of a situation which could have been solved by firmness and common sense; the only result of Eden's impotence is to lay bare the impotence of the United Nations. The collapse of the Western Alliance has given Russia a free hand and if Russia became more aggressive and threatened a hot war, she need fear no united Western Front. Eden's folly has been made worse by the action of the United States who are more intent on crippling us than standing up to Russia.

The Suez Canal remains in the hands of the defeated (by Israel) Nasser who is now dictating to the United Nations. An ill-assorted handful of inexperienced leaderless men from many countries is termed a U.N.O. police force but has neither taken



over the Canal nor is likely to be allowed to do so by Nasser. Meanwhile, America is screaming for us to withdraw to placate Nasser who has blocked the Canal with forty-nine ships and obstructions.

Never has Britain sunk so low; never has Britain been governed by such incompetence.

Our essential aims against Egypt were to secure the Canal, ensure our oil supplies, shatter Nasser and defeat Russian penetration into the Middle East.

The outcome of our stupidity has been that we have not occupied the Canal Zone which is under Nasser's control except for a few miles south of Port Said, the Canal is blocked, oil supplies blocked for months, our own prestige sunk further, Israel who made our task easy feels frustrated, and the way opened for further Russian intrusion.

In sum, we have up to now made the worst of a bad job.

Why did we open with bombing, which is emotionally repugnant to world opinion, instead of a troop landing by air and sea at Port Said and Suez with an air landing somewhere half-way down the Canal.

Once having started bombing, why did we continue it so long, allowing world opinion to harden against us and allow Nasser to block the Canal all too effectively?

Why did we not co-operate with the Israeli Army and ask them to secure the west bank of the Canal and wipe out half Nasser's army instead of only a quarter?

Eden stopped Israel doing the right thing, knowing full well they would succeed, namely occupy the Suez Canal area and signally defeat the Egyptian Army, because he thought he could do it better himself and he did not wish Israel to get the credit for solving once and for all the Canal question. Eden failed through lack of determination and foresight and in sending troops into action with one hand tied behind their backs.

Why, when we at last made our airborne drop, on the sixth day, did we wait another twenty-four hours before the sea landings—thus sacrificing the chance of rapid exploitation to reach the other end of the Canal?

The only problem which appears to have been solved is that





of providing Israel with military equipment (which we had denied her) to balance what Egypt received from Russia (the bulk of which is now in Israeli hands). A pleasant piece of irony.

LXII.1956. *London*

There is no doubt that Eden's moral and physical weakness is responsible for one of the greatest blunders and miscalculations in modern history. He stops the Israelis from occupying the Canal before Nasser blocked it, then he makes a perfectly futile landing at Port Said and listens to hysterical and impotent United Nations' orders to stop, when he might have occupied the whole Canal Zone. If Eden had showed determination and strength, Britain would have recovered her prestige, Nasser would have been humbled and a definite setback would have been administered to Russian infiltration into the Middle East. But now, we are despised by all, Nasser is gloating, a grievous blow has been dealt at our economic situation and America takes full advantage of a hopeless muddle, created by Eden and by nobody else.

American policy has been disgracefully inconsistent and governed by jealousy of Britain. Americans aim to make us a satellite, entirely dependent on her. America persuades us to evacuate the Canal Zone without obtaining Egyptian guarantees for free passage of all ships of all nations through the Canal; she whips up world feeling against us in the United Nations because we occupy Port Said. When Egypt nationalized the Canal, Dulles first threatened economic sanctions, then offered economic aid and then goes to hospital, a sick man.

When Dulles and Eisenhower rushed to Nasser's defence, forced Britain and France to stop and told the world that we were committing unjustified aggression, Nasser won back everything he had lost, blocked the Canal and proclaimed to the world that he had won.

Six points to consider:

(1) Subservience to the United States. Ever since the Roosevelt-Churchill admiration, but one-sided admiration, we have given way to the United States, whose one desire is to make us a satellite.





(2) Our Policy is the vacillating result of unreliable and ever-changing party debate.

(3) America, through jealousy, produced a political vacuum in the Middle East and this has now become a cesspool into which Russia, Britain, France, the U.S.A. and the Arab States are floundering.

(4) We have not yet learned that if we wish to preserve peace we must be sufficiently well armed to resist aggression; and that we must plan in advance to be prepared to use arms in case of need. It is worse than useless possessing arms if one is not prepared to use them. Action in a crisis is so much more efficient than talk.

(5) The Americans regard our action over Suez as nasty imperialism and an attempt to regain our prestige in the Middle East. For the Americans to control the Panama Canal is, of course, totally different and has nothing to do with colonialism, though the Suez Canal is as important to us as the Panama Canal is vital to America. We took action to preserve our life-line; the United States have done their best to strangle our economic life.

(6) Britain has been divided by an ill-informed political minority, trying to get party advantage during a national crisis. The opposition is almost Levantine in character, shrill, hysterical and with all the elements of an oriental bazaar and doing their best to split the country in two, discourage our troops in action and bring comfort to Nasser.

As I have said before, the Suez Canal Crisis is not just a question of who owns the Canal and free passage, it is not the Israel-Arab conflict nor the fear of a huge Arab Empire from Morocco to Iraq. The real issue is Russian dominance of the Middle East and extension to Morocco, the Atlantic and down Africa.

Russia is expert in taking advantage of circumstances which they do not themselves create. They struck at us in Berlin in 1948 and again in Korea in 1950. And now in the Middle East, Russia supports Nasser for no other reason than that it may help to destroy the West, and realize the dream of communist world-wide influence. In Nasser, Russia has found a willing tool.





Nasser has three objectives. To destroy Israel, to damage the Western Powers, especially Britain, as much as possible by seizing the Canal and then blocking it; his third objective being to place Egypt at the head of all Arab States, each governed by a military dictator.

The United Nations, led by the United States, have shirked the real issue and have become involved in an anti-colonialism campaign which has nothing whatever to do with the present crisis; 'Leave it to the United Nations and under no circumstances use force' has become a silly slogan which has disrupted the West and ignored the real issue which is Russia. It is the United States who have helped to undermine British influence throughout the world, putting nothing effective in its place and leaving the door open for Russia.

The United Nations, in their decisions, almost always favour the anti-colonial bloc against the colonial Powers; they are unable to render justice equally between their members.

7.XII.1956. *London*

This evening Colonel Aharon Doron of the Israeli Army dined with me; he was present at the recent capture of Gaza and is now doing a senior officers' course in England. He commanded a brigade.

We had a most interesting discussion. Doron kindly went right through from mobilization to the capture of Gaza, giving us a full account of resistance and booty captured. We asked him many questions and I am more than satisfied that:

(a) There was no collusion between Britain and Israel. It is an absurd idea.

(b) The Israeli army could have been on the Canal within forty-eight hours of starting the offensive and would then have defeated or captured more than half the Egyptian Army and would have prevented the blocking of the Canal.

(c) That if we had aimed at Suez, Port Said and Ismailia, instead of Port Said only, we could have occupied, in conjunction with the Israelis, the whole of the Canal.

(d) Israeli troops, though tactically on the offensive, were launched in self-defence; the Egyptian army was on the





defensive though their intention had been offensive.

(e) There is little doubt that the events of October gave renewed moral and physical strength to Israel. It exerted a great psychological effect on the country.

(f) Eden's lack of decision, fear of an impotent United Nations, fear of acting in concert with Israel and general lassitude in face of one of the worst crises since 1939, all amounts to criminal negligence.

(g) Israel must be absolutely firm in not retiring east of the old Turkish frontier Rafa-Suez until either Britain or the United Nations occupy east and south Sinai. Ben-Gurion must be adamant on this point.

16.XII.1956. *Drovers, Sussex*

Conversation centred around the Suez Crisis. There is a wave of hostility in Britain towards the United States; but I do not think it is so much hostility as criticism and resentment and in most cases a genuine desire to mend relationship. But there are signs of hostility; with severe petrol rationing, due to American action, several garages have put up signs 'No Americans served'. There is also a strong feeling in the country that we are rapidly becoming a satellite to the U.S.A. and that the U.S.A.'s policy is directed towards that end, I believe with truth. We shall never be friends with the Americans until they discard that policy. Both Eisenhower and Dulles have behaved abominably, doing their best to discredit us and comforting Nasser, for fear we might recover our lost prestige in the Middle East. It is American responsibility that the political vacuum was made in the Middle East and they are not prepared to fill it themselves; it therefore is filled by Arab Nationalism supported by Russia.

The United Nations has become a forum for partisan political speeches, where votes are cast strictly in accordance with political interests and where lobbying and bullying by the United States has concentrated on discrediting Britain. And why has the clearance of the Canal, vital to this country, been placed in the hands of a so-called 'expert'—General Wheeler. The clearance of the Canal has been repeatedly proclaimed to be a primary task, above and outside politics, and this man Wheeler is setting





about his task by delays and grovelling conversations with Nasser. Such action leaves most of us bewildered.

If a thief steals some of my property, am I not entitled to try to recover it; and if I try to recover it, may I not try to prevent him destroying what he has stolen; and having destroyed my property am I not entitled to be allowed to repair my property?

Wheeler, after ten days delay talking to Nasser, announces that ten more days will be required for a survey and that though the work of clearing the Canal would be wholly a United Nations responsibility, British equipment might be used but not British personnel. I cannot conceive a more gratuitous insult to Britain or a more complete sop to Nasser. Wheeler is no doubt supported by Dulles and Eisenhower.

It is incredible that the Canal should be allowed to stay in Nasser's hands after the many acts of defiance of United Nations' decisions; and the United Nations are now helping him to clear the Canal which he blocked; and with a victorious Israeli army occupying the whole of Sinai and ourselves in possession of Port Said, it would have been so easy to proclaim the Canal to be an International Waterway.

15.XII.1956. *London*

Meanwhile Gaitskell continues to gain party advantage from the crisis and does his utmost to discredit the Tory Party and split the county in two; his policy is directed solely so that he can gain power and follow Eden as Prime Minister. God help this country if that were to happen.

16.XII.1956. *London*

Meanwhile Pandit Nehru and Eisenhower are meeting in Washington and no doubt enjoying a good hate about so-called British Colonialism. Nehru is a humbug mixture of sanctimony, priggishness and deceit. Though head of a State bound to the Commonwealth, he preaches against it. He has been ruthless over Kashmir and Hyderabad and Goa, and said not a word when China enslaved Tibet. He condemned Anglo-French occupation of Port Said and lent his name to mendacious statistics about Egyptian casualties published by Nasser; and he has supported Russia over her atrocities in Hungary, saying we





must not allow 'our attention to be distracted from the Egyptian question by harping on events in Hungary'. It seems doubtful if India's membership of the Commonwealth has any genuine meaning. Nehru's actions have been both humiliating and dishonourable.

21.XII.1956. *London*

The obvious solution to the Middle East muddle must include an alternative route to the Suez Canal, for so long as Egypt holds it she will use it for blackmail and political purposes; it is clear that the United Nations will be highly effective against Britain, France and Israel, but hopelessly impotent against aggression by Nasser. It is most remarkable that Russia can bully Hungary and murder Hungarians in spite of United Nations resolutions; whilst in the case of Egypt versus the United States, Egypt wins. A Great Power wins against a small power even when she is in the wrong, and a small power like Egypt wins against a Great Power like the United States when she also is in the wrong. It does not make sense.

But to return to my solution:

- (a) We must have an alternative route to the Suez Canal.
- (b) We must secure the flow of oil to Europe without risking interruption from an Arab State.
- (c) We must give Israel security.
- (d) We must settle the Arab refugee problem.

The following suggestion solves these problems:

(1) The Sinai Peninsula does not belong to Egypt east of the old Turkish frontier Rafa-Suez. She must be compelled to give it up to the United Nations. The Gaza strip reverts to Israel.

(2) A United Nations occupation of Sinai forms a buffer between Egypt and Israel and gives the latter country security.

(3) A second Canal must be built across Sinai from the Mediterranean to the Gulf of Aqaba. Or, if that is impossible, then a pipe line must be built.

(4) Sinai would then provide work for the Arab refugees and later on for maintenance.





(5) Sinai would be garrisoned by a United Nations Force with armour and aircraft, and commanded by a European.

(6) If the United States refused to co-operate then the Canal Users' Association must undertake the work. A threat to do so would bring the United States to reason.

The building of a canal through Sinai is a big job; it is a much longer distance than that traversed by the Suez Canal and through more difficult country. But with modern appliances it should not prove to be more difficult than the Suez Canal which was dug by manual labour.

Christmas Day, 1956. London

The evening's news announced that Moorhouse has been murdered in Port Said. This young officer was kidnapped in Port Said some days ago. What was he doing wandering about a bitterly hostile city alone? What was our Intelligence doing in a small town like Port Said? Why did they not locate him? Why have we withdrawn all British troops and left him behind? Stockwell never should have left until he was either released or satisfied as to his fate; and as Moorhouse was murdered, Stockwell should have remained until the murderers had been dealt with. It is all very humiliating. Meanwhile there is delay over clearing the Canal and Egyptian troops are re-occupying Sinai under Burns and his gang of useless observers. The U.S.A. is at the bottom of all this. What does Eisenhower or Dulles or any American care about clearing the Canal, the murder of British officers or stopping Egypt from attacking Israel? All they are intent on is eliminating our influence in the Middle East and our Government are utterly incapable of action to prevent it. They have had their chance and signally failed—even worse, aggravated and worsened an already tragic situation.





VII

Suez

8.1.1957. *London*

On the 6th, Nasser, now triumphant, declares he will not allow British and French ships through the Suez Canal so long as Israel does not withdraw from the Gaza Strip and that no ships would be permitted to use the Canal unless they paid their dues to the Egyptian authority. Apparently Britain was assured by the Secretary-General of the United Nations before we withdrew from Port Said that there would be no discrimination; another case of impotence of UNO and also American double-dealing.

9.1.1957. *London*

It was given out this evening that Eden has resigned with much emphasis on his bad health and all sorts of bulletins by doctors. Eden has resigned because he has been a complete failure and has humiliated Britain to a greater degree than any man has done before. He proved himself to be weak, incapable of strong action, he could not act decisively in a moment of crisis, he had no resolution, no policy beyond appeasement, and bad health. His handling of the Trade Unions has been just as weak and irresolute as his handling of the Suez Crisis and thank God he has gone amid shame and disgrace.

But who will take his place. Butler or Macmillan. Both untried. I should prefer Salisbury but peers can no longer be Prime Ministers.





10.1.1957. *London*

Macmillan is appointed Prime Minister, an untried man and, I am sure, lacking the strength and determination to lift this country out of the humiliation and bewilderment into which we have sunk owing to the weakness of Eden. Never did Britain stand so low since the death of Gordon in Khartoum. One feels it everywhere; despair and hopelessness. What is wrong with England?

The abdication of the upper classes who suffered most during both World Wars, and in the years following, is mainly responsible for our malaise. There is no reward for hard work by the intelligent element, who are reviled by Labour in their campaign of class hatred, there is no freedom to develop free enterprise, there is no financial security, there is no control of Trade Unions, who, in spite of a shortage of coal, refuse to allow foreigners to work in the pits, politicians cannot be relied on to act in the interests of their country but regard everything in the light of party. The country is in despair, the lower classes, who care for nothing beyond wages, television, dog racing and the jealousy of seeing better men than they are, better off, find themselves in power—dictators.

What we want is a strong leader to whom the best elements in this country would rally; there is nothing so conducive to high morale as determination, firmness and justice. I much doubt if Macmillan can face the mob and bring this country back to greatness.

'My Middle East Muddle', an explosion of some five pages of foolscap, has been sent out to friends and on the whole has been well received. Elath asked for five extra copies to send to Israel and several others have asked for extra copies, so I am now issuing a second edition. It is very outspoken, not mincing words; I have avoided the usual Whitehallelse language of such documents.

18.1.1957. *London*

At a United Nations meeting to-day Britain supported the Afro-Asian bloc in demanding the complete evacuation of Sinai, including the Gaza strip, by Israel; so Macmillan is little better than Eden. The incredible stupidity of supporting our





enemies—the Arab States and that dreamer Nehru—and rebuffing our only friend in the Middle East, is infuriating and bewildering. In doing so we are giving comfort to Nasser, who is the man out to ruin Britain, and we are helping the Arabs to destroy our economy. Presumably we are still under the influence of the United States, who will not be content until they have dragged us down to the position of a satellite.

19.I.1957. *London*

The United Nations have ordered Israel to withdraw from Sinai including the Gaza strip. I hope Israel refuses. This abject surrender to the Arab States is not only humiliating but stupid beyond belief. I believe at the back of it is unconscious anti-semitism.

When Egypt flouted the United Nations and closed the Canal and the Gulf of Aqaba to Israeli shipping, though this constituted an act of aggression, no action was taken; and when the Egyptian Government trained and used bands of fedayeen (bandits) to raid and murder in Israel, the United Nations did nothing.

And now the United Nations refer to Israel's retaliation as 'colonialism'.

24.I.1957. *Edinburgh*

Came up to Edinburgh to-day by rail, travelling with an unknown Lord, a Left-wing socialist, who left the train at Newcastle. I do not know his name but he had a coronet and W on his brief-case. He started the conversation on the Middle East as he saw me reading my 'explosion'. He thought our invasion of Egypt a gross case of aggression, that the Suez Canal belonged to Egypt and we had no right to interfere and that in any case we should have referred the matter to the United Nations. I told him that if the Israeli army had reached the Canal, Nasser's army would have been broken up, very much to our advantage; his reply to that was 'Those bloody Jews are a perfect nuisance.' I told him I could not continue arguing with a man infected with such a foul disease as anti-semitism, so we switched on to Labour and Socialism. He thought there was still too much inequality in Britain. I





suggested to him that he would welcome 'classless society of silly little comrades' and that such ideas as social equality were impossible, that any mother with more than one child would agree that human society is permanently saturated with inequalities, but that social equality can be achieved by force, and that in the end natural laws will intervene and enforce inequality, that the more equality we get, the less liberty and a great deal less fraternity results, that social equality is a declaration of ambition largely based on jealousy.

I fairly let myself go and enjoyed it. He got quite hot, called me a reactionary and insulted me by recommending me to stand for Parliament. I wish I knew his name.

24.1.1957. *Edinburgh*

Israel's terms for withdrawal from Sinai are published in to-day's *Times*. They are clear, just, and show a high degree of statesmanship which is more than can be said of either the British Government or of the U.S.A. administration. I do hope Ben-Gurion stands firm in face of American bluster and threat, and British grovelling to the Arabs. It looks as though public opinion in America is getting somewhat tired of Dulles and his hostility to Britain.

26.1.1957. *Edinburgh*

Dulles has said 'If I was an American boy going to fight in the Middle East, I would rather not have a British and French, one on my right hand and one on my left. I think I would be a lot safer under difficult conditions than that.' This is a gratuitous insult. He was afraid to fight alongside us for two years in both world wars and yet squealed for help from us and the French after having made a thorough mess of the Korean campaign. No, Dulles, we have no desire to fight again alongside American troops.

British salvage crews who have been working in the Canal, 'in the face of every conceivable form of obstruction and irritation from the Egyptians who have denied them certain essential stores', have now, under Egyptian pressure and with the consent of the United Nations (which is now the United States), come home. It really is most humiliating. If they had





been allowed to continue the work of clearance, the Canal would have been free in March, whereas now it cannot be free until May or even later; and for this we have to thank the Americans.

28.1.1957. *London*

A resolution passed almost unanimously by the United Nations orders Israel to quit the whole of the Sinai Peninsula including Gaza and Sharm el Sheikh. France alone voted against the resolution. We, to our shame, voted for it. This will probably shatter the whole organization. Israel is behaving splendidly, handing over nearly 6,000 Egyptian prisoners of war whilst Egypt refuses to hand over the only four Israelis captured during the campaign.

Israel cannot return to the status quo. This is what Egypt wants after a colossal defeat in Sinai and after blocking the Canal and disrupting our economy. Israel is demanding watertight guarantees of security before she hands over the Gaza strip and command of the Gulf of Aqaba.

This is not a test for Israel, still less for Egypt. It is a test for the United Nations. Israel is firm as a rock. The United Nations, aware of their impotence, are still floundering, appeasing Nasser who is at the root of the trouble, and taking no effective steps to direct the Arabs from their determination to drive Israel into the sea. The unfortunate element is that the United States, still saturated with undermining influence everywhere, dominate the United Nations, and are still bent on humiliating us and we weakly comply, voting for this abominable resolution. I had hoped, when Eden went, that Macmillan might have the 'guts' to stand up to the United States and insist that adequate guarantees be given to Israel before she evacuates Sinai.

2.11.1957. *London*

Whilst clamouring for sanctions against Israel because she refuses to expose herself to annihilation and refuses to evacuate Sinai until she has guarantees for her security, the Council takes little notice of Nehru's ruthless action over Kashmir; but every device of pressure is being used to rob Israel of the safety which her army recently won for her in Sinai.





Nehru has acted against the United Nations in declaring that Kashmir is part of India when the United Nations laid down that the Kashmir question must be decided by 'democratic method of a free and impartial plebiscite'. U.N.O. does nothing.

The United Nations proposals in the Middle East might well have been drafted by Nasser and are quite unacceptable to Israel who, thank God, is standing firm. The United Nations have two standards of morality—leaving Egypt free to defy her obligations and United Nations resolutions, whilst insisting on Israel complying with a measure which is suicidal. An aggressor like Nehru or Nasser can get away with the spoils, whilst those nations who, despairing of getting justice which for years they have demanded, ultimately act in self-defence are then humiliated and punished.

The sooner the British Government dissociates itself utterly from American influence and double-dealing and the impotence of an American-sponsored United Nations, the better for Britain.

I am sick of the whole business, which distresses me acutely.

3.II.1957. *London*

I find that my diary is a great safety valve; I sometimes feel like having an hysterical explosion when I think of the ineptitude of the members of the United Nations and the deplorable example they are setting. Their record is one of continued failure. After nine years they have allowed Nehru's obstinacy and hypocrisy to frustrate their proposal for a plebiscite in Kashmir. In Hungary their resolutions have been ignored and jeered at. In the Middle East they took over the re-opening of the Suez Canal, they got rid of British and French salvage craft which would have had the Canal open by now, they lost a month for purely political reasons and they are no nearer a solution in the Israel-Arab dispute than they were in 1949. It is pure folly to expect from the United Nations that which it is by its nature incapable of performing.

6.II.1957. *London*

King Saud of Saudi Arabia has paid an official visit to the United States; he is a man of no importance and little intelli





gence. The United States have consented to double the strength of his existing army in return for various oil and air base concessions. The arms will include fighter aircraft and modern tanks. Against whom are these going to be used? Only against Israel or ourselves.

7.II.1957. *London*

An excellent leading article in to-day's *Times*. Public opinion and Parliament are slowly being educated to the hollowness of American policy in the Middle East and the gross injustice being meted out to Israel by the United Nations. I am delighted to see Ben-Gurion is holding out and refuses to evacuate Gaza and Sharm el Sheikh without water-tight guarantees against further Egyptian aggression.

8.II.1957. *London*

I had already pointed out in my 'explosion' that Egypt had no sovereign rights in Sinai. In to-day's *Times* appears a letter from Lord Soulbury stressing this point and recommending that the United Nations take over this explosive region. I had a letter yesterday from the Editor of *The Times* who had seen my 'explosion' asking me to contribute something on this subject, so I sent him the following letter:

Middle East: Fact and Emotion

Sir: In your issue of January 26th, Mr R. R. Stokes quotes Mr Ben-Gurion as saying he did not attack Egypt proper. That assertion is perfectly true. The Israeli army attacked and occupied No-man's-land.

The old Turkish-Egyptian boundary before 1906 ran from Rafa in the north to Suez. The whole of east, central and southern Sinai was part of the Ottoman Empire. But, in October 1906, Egypt was granted administrative rights in Sinai east of a line drawn from Rafa to near Elath in the Gulf of Akaba. This agreement, which I have studied, stresses the retention of Turkish sovereignty, which remained Turkish territory until 1927 when, by the Treaty of Lausanne, Turkey relinquished all her Arab territories, which, by the right of conquest, were at the disposal of Britain.





In 1926, Lord Lloyd asked the Foreign Office if the 1906 agreement was still valid and was told that it was. This was personally confirmed to me by Lloyd in 1928.

Egypt's only rights in Sinai are administrative and these have been abused by using Sinai as a base for fedayeen raids and erecting coastal batteries at the mouth of the Gulf of Akaba.

I am, etc.,

February 9, 1957.

R. Meinertzhagen.

Meanwhile over eighty nations have supported, under United States influence, a motion requiring Israel to withdraw from Gaza and Sharm el Sheikh without any guarantees from Egypt. Israel flatly refuses to do so. Splendid. This is monstrous. Every one of those eighty nations knows it would not comply with such a demand if it were in Israel's position.

Moreover since 1948, Egypt has claimed belligerent rights against Israel. Since 1951 these rights have been blatantly exercised in defiance of the United Nations Security Council. If Egypt insists on being free to exercise these belligerent rights against Israel, then Israel is clearly justified in defending herself. It seems that the United Nations deny to Israel the rights of self-defence. And since when is an attack by one nation at war with another termed an act of aggression? Egypt cannot have it both ways, claiming a right to attack Israel and at the same time claiming that an Israel attack is an act of aggression.

Egypt has constantly claimed that she is at war with Israel and the Security Council have failed utterly to stop this aggressive act; is not being at war with another country an act of aggression? Or must we wait until an actual attack takes place?

10.II.1957. *London*

I do not think much of Hammarskjold. Israel has begged him to ask Nasser whether he considered that Egypt is still at war with Israel. He refused to do so, presumably because it would be embarrassing to the Egyptian dictator. He is under the influence of Eisenhower and Dulles, forgetting he is the servant of eighty-eight states. If Nasser were to reply Yes, Israeli action in Sinai would be justified; if Nasser said No, Egypt would be embarrassed in the Arab world by agreeing to peace with





Israel. So appeasement is still the policy of the United Nations in face of the utmost provocation by Egypt and her continued refusal to abide by decisions of the Security Council.

Letter sent to the *Sunday Times* on February 11th and which they refused to publish:

Sir: With reference to your short para 'Britain Saved Egypt in 1948', I might elaborate. On December 31st, 1948, the American Ambassador to Israel was instructed to convey to Israel that Great Britain would enter the war against Israel unless Israel withdrew her troops from Egyptian territory. Britain was then not on speaking terms with Israel. Ben Gurion was informed that evening: he pointed out that Israel was in friendly touch with the Security Council and not in conflict with it; Britain cannot make herself sole judge of an alleged violation of Security Council recommendations; Israel is only engaged in self-defence; she has been attacked by six Arab States whose troops are still on Palestine soil; Israel must be allowed to defend herself; Egypt has occupied part of Palestine (Gaza), why should not Israel occupy part of Egypt.

On January 2nd, 1949, all Israeli troops had retired from Egyptian territory, but the Egyptians still remained in Gaza; and on the same day an Egyptian plane dropped bombs on Jerusalem, the first occasion on which bombs had been dropped on the Holy City.

On January 7th, 1949, British aircraft flew over South Palestine and five were shot down by the Israelis.

Ben-Gurion's decision to give way was psychological, due to the youth and inexperience of the young Israel. I have satisfied myself that, if Britain had not interfered, not only would there have been no Gaza strip but the Canal would have been reached by Israel in forty-eight hours and internationalized.

Britain repeated this ghastly error in November last when she stopped Israel reaching the Canal and wiping out Nasser's army. Britain saved Egypt twice: Nasser's gratitude is obvious.

R.M.

21.II.1957. *London*

A monstrous, spiteful, dishonest and typically American broad-





cast by Eisenhower on Israel withdrawal from Sinai. Egyptian aggression against Israel during the past nine years, Egyptian claims that she is still at war with Israel and is determined to exterminate her, the fact that Sinai is not Egyptian territory, that Israel acted in self-defence last November—are all ignored and replaced by a lot of vague platitudes about the sanctity of the United Nations and the wisdom of the allies. It is the most blatant example of the influence of oil and big business on American foreign policy. If Israel refuses, sanctions are suggested. There is no talk of sanctions and pressure against Egypt for defying the United Nations in closing the Canal and the Gulf of Akaba to Israel shipping, no mention of using the Gaza strip as a base from which to attack Israel, no mention of sanctions against Russia for her crimes in Hungary. There is no justice in Eisenhower or Dulles, just self-interest and appeasement of the Arab States: there is no hint of guarantees to Israel if she evacuates Sinai. It is a double standard, one for the Arab States, one for Israel.

The United Nations assembly is neither a legislative body nor a court of justice; its resolutions have no legal status. Israel's contention that she acted in self-defence when she invaded Sinai has never been answered and is in fact unanswerable. Eisenhower, in appeasing the Afro-Asian bloc, is inviting Israel to commit suicide. No array of pious platitudes can disguise the absurdity and gross injustice of that.

And the British Government remains silent, allowing the United States to settle, in their dishonest way, matters which vitally affect us. Dependence on the United States is no substitute for foreign policy. It would appear that we have no foreign policy at the moment, content to allow the United States to dictate to us.

28.II.1957. *London*

In order to appease the Arabs and strangle Israel America asked the Germans to discontinue sending goods to Israel under the reparations agreement. I am glad to say Adenauer refused. It shows to what lengths America will go to destroy Israel. These reparations are a decisive factor in Israel's economy, amounting to about one-quarter of the country's total imports.





The United States have twice appealed to the Bonn Government to give an assurance that it would stop the payment of reparations. Adenauer has rejected both appeals. Splendid.

1.III.1957. *London*

I was sorry to hear on the nine o'clock news that Israel has agreed to evacuate Sinai, trusting in the United States to keep the Gulf of Aqaba open and not allow the Egyptians back in Gaza. A great error has been made. The United States have no intention of honouring the agreement; all they care about is their own interests—oil and dollars coupled with world domination. And why does our silly gang of weak-kneed politicians not do something: God, what a contempt I have for the whole lot of them. What we want at the moment is a Cromwell.

3.III.1957. *London*

The fumbling of the United Nations, the insistence on Israel evacuating Sinai, Nasser's imposing delays on the clearance of the Canal and the approval of many members of the General Assembly who have their own reasons for not wishing to see the United Nations Emergency Force an effective instrument, are going to have very serious repercussions. Dulles and Eisenhower have encouraged Nasser to play his own game and I am convinced that as soon as Israel evacuates Gaza and Sharm el Sheikh, Egypt will walk in again and nobody can stop her. Burns and his 4,000 will be brushed aside, Burns will be delighted and I hope Israel will then hit back and show the world she is in earnest. Perhaps Dulles and Eisenhower will realize what silly little men they are. We are back again where we were last autumn thanks to Eden and the British Government, the impotence of the United Nations and those two stupid Yanks.

The United States have only followed the policy of the British Government, a policy of escapism seeped in oil, a policy of appeasing our enemies and frustrating our friends. It is amazing that politicians can be so stupid.

Every support should be given to Israel by the United Nations and individual nations for the act of faith which she has per-





formed; but I fear Nasser will be allowed to get his way and that will lead to another Israel invasion of Sinai.

4.III.1957. *London*

Israel, realizing the inadequacy and double-dealing of the United States and her appeasement policy towards the Arabs, has, thank God, decided not to evacuate Gaza and Sharm el Sheikh without adequate assurances for her security. I fear tremendous pressure will be brought against her by the U.S.A. and ourselves, in order to appease the Arabs.

Why does not the U.S.A. apply to Egypt a little of the pressure she is applying ruthlessly to Israel? The Americans are disregarding the plain realities of the situation. Israel is more clear-sighted. She knows perfectly well that Egypt has no intention of complying with her international obligations. The United Nations Emergency Force is even now not providing a deterrent against Egyptian incursions into Israel. On what grounds do Eisenhower and Dulles assume that if Israel evacuates Sinai, Nasser will not continue his aggression and close both Canal and the Gulf of Aqaba to Israeli shipping? What is needed in the Middle East is an imposed and enforced settlement. And what is Britain doing? Just allowing America to make a worse mess of the situation than Eden did.

Nasser's view that colonialism is synonymous with oppression and exploitation seems also to be the view of Eisenhower and Dulles. They have used this slogan to win the confidence of the Arabs by snubbing and insulting us. The U.S.A. have also used U.N.O. as a lever to make us do what they wished, pretending it was a high moral court, when actually it was a rigged jury of pre-canvassed votes.

5.III.1957. *London*

Ben-Gurion has changed his mind and Israel is to evacuate Sinai without conditions; no doubt America has used every underhand means to achieve this. I am very sorry as it must mean further armed clashes; Egypt will re-occupy Sinai including Gaza and she will continue to close the Canal and the Gulf of Aqaba to Israeli shipping; that means more war and, I hope, the complete exposure of American stupidity and





United Nations impotence. The U.S.A. is not fit to deal with matters outside her own continent.

9.III.1957. *London*

The United Nations Security Forces took over the Gaza strip and Sharm el Sheikh on the 7th. Nasser is still holding up the clearance of the Canal and he will soon be back where he was before the trouble started with enhanced prestige. His next move will be the re-occupation of the Gaza strip and Sharm el Sheikh and the resumption of fedayeen raids into Israel.

14.III.1957. *London*

The moment Israel evacuates Gaza at the insistence of Eisenhower and Dulles, Nasser appoints a commander in Gaza, an Egyptian general, who enters Gaza. Israel is furious and this in spite of Eisenhower's promise to Ben-Gurion 'If Israel withdraws, you will not regret it'. And the United Nations allow the man to enter Gaza. There is one law for Israel and another for Egypt.

Meanwhile the Canal is still closed. Wheeler first said it would be open by March 10th. He now says April 10th; and this is entirely due to Nasser's obstructions. What reliance can possibly be placed on his capacity to fulfil his new undertaking, or on Egypt's willingness to let him fulfil it?

Israel was given very dubious assurances about Gaza and the Gulf of Aqaba; but as an act of faith and trust in the United Nations (which is in fact now the United States) she withdrew and in walks Nasser. Nasser can defy the United Nations as much as he wishes and has done so for many years; but if Israel asks for guarantees for her security, she gets nothing but snubs and bullying from Eisenhower and Dulles.

Gaza has now reverted to what it was before October 29th—a base for a further campaign of terror against Israel.

Nothing but flabby platitudes exude from the United States; they deceive nobody. Nasser has done precisely what every thinking individual knew he would do; and yet the United States are surprised! The failure of the United States has not been through lack of warning; their policy has been based on evasion of fact and on contamination by oil.





20.III.1957. *London*

Meanwhile the Suez Crisis drags on under American control, much talk and no action. Nasser holds all the cards thanks to the U.S.A. and Western Europe has become an onlooker, though our stake in the Canal is infinitely greater than any American interest. Why do we not call a conference of Western European Canal Users who would unanimously decide to boycott the Canal. If we give way without making an attempt to stand up to Nasser, our humiliation will have struck rock bottom. At present the spirit of co-operation with the United States only functions when we submit to their wishes. I should prefer to resign from an organization—U.N.O.—which shields the culprit and damns the victim of aggression.

21.III.1957. *London*

Will U.N.O. now insist on Egypt fulfilling the four conditions she imposed; it will not be achieved by negotiation, for Nasser knows perfectly well he has all the cards in his hands—deliberately placed there by the United States. U.N.O. has neither the strength nor the will to impose sanctions. U.N.O. is paralysed by her own weakness and dishonesty; so it looks as though Nasser will get away with it until Israel is forced to do what U.N.O. should have done long ago.

Unless the United Nations have the strength and will to prevent force and acts of injustice, it will collapse; it is fatal to regard U.N.O. as a futile debating club and equally fatal that its decisions should be at the mercy of any particular bloc or that one paramount nation should be able to rig decisions.

Meanwhile Israel has gone to the limit in jeopardizing her security. Hammarskjöld has done great harm with his placatory interview with Nasser, giving way at every point when, in his strong position, he could insist on Egypt fulfilling her obligations under international law. What has happened in the Gaza strip is the reversal of what Israel had the right to expect after her withdrawal. Nasser is now back in Gaza, he refuses to allow Israeli ships through the Canal and he will persuade Saudi Arabia to close the Gulf of Aqaba to Israeli shipping.

Menzies of Australia has said:





The United Nations made Israel a victim of a double standard of belligerent rights. Egypt sought to justify her denial of passage through the Canal to Israeli ships on the grounds that she was at war and had belligerent rights and thus she had been in contempt of the United Nations for six years. Israel, having accepted the proposition that she was at war with Egypt, attacked, but was ordered out of the Gaza strip and the Sinai peninsula; and Egypt still refuses to allow her ships safe passage; I cannot believe this kind of thing is a triumph of international justice.

It is of course a reversal of international justice. The peace which the Americans imposed last November is no peace at all; the Egyptians say it is not and the Israelis know it is not. This is but the beginning of a situation which the Americans have aggravated and which is certain to worsen.

6.IV.1957. *London*

The Canal is not yet clear for large ships and has become a major instrument of policy for Egypt who will dictate whose ships will pass through, when and how. Egypt will collect the tolls. U.N.O. has become impotent, thanks to Dulles, Eisenhower and Hammerskjold. Nasser still refuses to open the Canal to Israeli shipping until the problem of the Arab refugees is settled to his satisfaction. He has displaced the ridiculous U.N.E.F. in every sphere of activity in Gaza. Every single assumption on which Israel withdrew from Sinai has been betrayed. Nasser has openly shown his contempt for U.N.O. The outlook in the Middle East remains as grave as ever and this is how it will remain until the fundamental challenge is taken up and answered by Israel who has nothing to fear from States which are politically rotten.

And now things are boiling up in Jordan which may collapse and be partitioned between Saudi Arabia and Syria with possibly a slice for Nasser.

14.IV.1957. *Switzerland*

Saudi Arabia, at the prompting of Egypt, has announced that she will not allow Israeli shipping into the Gulf of Aqaba. If





U.N.O. had any sense or if our politicians had any 'guts', we should tell Saudi Arabia that any interference with shipping would be regarded as a hostile act by both Israel and U.N.O.

10.v.1957. *London*

The Jordan crisis is for the moment quiescent but by no means finished. Dulles, with millions of dollars in one hand and the American Sixth Fleet in the other (landing Marines at Beirut), claims the credit; but in fact the King of Jordan has temporarily saved the country from disruption in spite of Egyptian and Syrian intrigue. Nasser's dream of an empire from the Taurus to Casablanca is for the moment exploded.

Meanwhile Israel goes about her own business, watchful and silent. Britain, as a factor in the Middle East, is forgotten and the American Sixth Fleet cruises about the Eastern Mediterranean. But the Middle East volcano is still active and the Arabs are still united in the destruction of Israel. Nasser, the original aggressor, has won. Britain is humiliated and America is delighted.

14.v.1957. *London*

Macmillan has said that British ships may now use the Canal. France will not do so. So we have accepted defeat at Nasser's hands; it may have been inevitable but not necessarily right; our politicians invariably take the easy course, whether it be right or wrong. We shall now use the Canal on Egypt's terms and these are not in keeping with the six principles of the Security Council resolution of October 13th, 1956. The United Nations under American leadership have no power nor desire to compel Egypt to conform though they are quite ready to bring pressure on Israel, Britain and France.

Meanwhile Israel has announced her intention to send a test ship through the Canal; Egypt will stop it and again the United Nations will do nothing. Eisenhower has said that Israel is entitled to send a ship through the Canal, but on no account must use force. Was there ever such a stupid statement? Egypt would use force in stopping the ship; Israel must not retaliate by force. Effective action against Egypt entails the use of force. It is the only thing Nasser understands.

The root of the whole business from Abadan to Suez is





America's desire to gain complete control of Middle East oil and weaken British prestige: this they have achieved with success thanks to their underhand methods and Eden's weakness.

23.v.1957. *London*

The Middle East is as critical as ever and the only satisfaction expressed by anyone comes from Russia and Egypt. Nasser has not only humiliated Britain and France, but has won a victory over the United Nations, thanks to the Americans. Israel wants to send a test ship through the Canal and the United States is doing her utmost to dissuade her; why? because the U.S.A. knows that her whole shabby edifice of hypocrisy, dishonesty and cowardice would crumble.

Egypt has persisted that she is still at war with Israel and has a right to blockade Israel's shipping. Do the United Nations condone that? Israel certainly does not and may at any moment act. It is clear that the present sorry state of affairs need never have arisen if the Great Powers had implemented the United Nations resolutions of November 1951, demanding free passage through the Canal for the ships of all Nations including Israel.

Why was tremendous pressure brought on Israel to abandon Sinai including the Gaza strip and Sharm el Sheikh? Why has no pressure been brought on Egypt to observe international obligations? The answer is *oil* and appeasement. How contemptible!

Nobody is prepared to enforce United Nations' decisions in face of the United States commercial interest in oil. Egypt's claim of belligerency is contrary to the basic principles of the U.N. Charter which does not and cannot recognize a state of war between its member States.

Moscow is delighted, the United States is delighted, Nasser is delighted, Israel is frustrated, France and Britain are humiliated.

5.vi.1957. *London*

For many years the West has made the error of thinking Arab friendship can be gained by political appeasement with economic and military gifts and loans. This glaring fallacy has been exposed on many occasions but the policy persists. Russia has





taken advantage of our errors and is creating a second Korea in the Middle East by encouraging Syria and Egypt to accept arms and adopt communist ideals; this is all aimed at the West; Egypt and Syria will become Russian satellites, the first to have no common frontier with Russia. What the West has tried to avert has now materialized; Russia has obtained a foothold in the Middle East. She has a base in Turkey's rear; she is astride some of the most vital pipe-lines; she is within easy striking distance of Mosul, Kirkuk and Kuwait—and Cyprus.

And still Britain and America do nothing. I believe a solution is to be found in the disputed sovereignty of Sinai which I claim belongs to Britain—east of the Suez-Rafa line.

It is clear that Egypt and Syria, with Russian help in material and technicians, are planning the destruction of Israel and the elimination of British influence in the Middle East. If this materializes a major conflagration is certain with the possibility of a Third World War from which America would back out as she did in the two previous World Wars; Russia has no fear of a war with Britain, but she would hesitate entering a war in which the United States is involved.

If it is accepted that the sovereignty of Eastern Sinai is vested in Britain, there are four courses:

- (1) Hand the disputed territory to Egypt.
- (2) Hand the disputed territory to Israel.
- (3) Hand the disputed territory to the United Nations.
- (4) That Great Britain take it over.

As our main immediate object must be to prevent Egypt attacking Israel or Israel attacking Egypt, (1) and (2) would only aggravate the situation.

No. (3) would no doubt lead to universal approval; but no half-trained babel-speaking force is capable of policing Sinai; nor can the United Nations be relied on to act effectively and immediately if trouble broke out.

No. (4) is the obvious solution. And it would appear to solve more than one problem.

It would create an effective barrier between Egypt and Israel. Syria alone could never undertake an invasion of Israel.





It would give Britain ample room for a base without the danger of a hostile population. History shows that militant nationalism is more difficult to overcome than a well trained army, unless we are prepared to use methods abhorrent to the British people. In Sinai the nomad population is negligible. Though other excuses were advanced for abandoning the Suez Base and now Cyprus, the real excuse is that any base amid a hostile population is untenable. Any move to Kenya will only increase African resentment and in twenty-five years time we shall find even Kenya untenable. Moreover Kenya is too far distant for effective action in the Middle East.

The Gulf of Aqaba is a harbour in itself.

There is ample water in Sinai if developed.

A British Base in Sinai places us not only in a favourable strategic position in the Middle East, but enables us to take immediate and effective action against Egypt should she close the Suez Canal to British shipping.

Israel is our only friend in the Middle East. Should we establish a British Base in Sinai, she provides an extra security.

No amount of appeasement will make any Arab State love us; they hate us; but worse, they despise us. We should not mind hatred, but we can make them respect us.

A British occupation of Sinai would be a smack in the face for Russia as it prevents co-operation between Egypt and Syria. We would naturally have to face violent criticism from the Arab States, Russia, India and from the United States. But with the right on our side, let us take action which will solve our difficulties and regain us the respect we have lost.

A British occupation of Sinai would also enable a second Canal to be built through British territory and under British or British-Israel control.

24.VII.1957. *Kenya*

The Shell Company and British Petroleum have decided to stop their marketing operations in Israel. This is a serious blow to Israel's economy and can only have been undertaken with the consent or connivance or even insistence of H.M.G. or Egypt. It can only increase the tension in the Middle East and





convince Israel of our continued appeasement of the Arabs at the expense of Israel.

ix. 1957. *London*

That man Dulles is a menace. I imagine that Eisenhower is completely under his thumb. Dulles, owing to the Russians pouring arms into Syria and showing an inclination to attack Jordan, is pouring arms into Jordan, the worst possible counter-measure. The obvious solution is for the U.S.A., Britain and France to send a joint note to Syria, telling them in the plainest language that if they attack any neighbouring state, the three Great Powers will take immediate action against Syria. At the same time Britain should occupy Sinai and isolate Egypt. It is most remarkable how easy the Americans find it to make a mess of the simplest problems.

The sending of arms to Jordan, whose main policy is the destruction of Israel, will cause considerable uneasiness in Israel. And Dulles says these arms will not be used against Israel; how can he possibly stop it? This American move has worsened the Middle East situation.

Russia's global policy is to dominate the world by converting all peoples to communism, by force if necessary; in other words she wants to reduce humanity to permanent slavery under the Kremlin.

Russia's recent policy in the Middle East is clear. She aims at dominating Egypt and the Suez Canal, a strategic life-line of the West, she wants to get control of the Middle East oil and she wants to win over the Arab States in the Middle East. She makes full political use of the Arab-Jew hatred and of Arab nationalist aspirations; also of Anglo-American jealousies and divergent policies; Russia also wants to win over the Arabs of North Africa, thus placing the whole of Africa within her grasp. If she succeeds she has cut Europe-Africa and Europe-Asia communications completely.

Russia gains every advantage by conducting a cold war. I do not believe Russia is any more capable of conducting a hot war than we are. She is not only fearful of United States superiority in nuclear warfare but of unrest among her satellites. This latter fear is very real. Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia,





Finland, Poland, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Ukraine, Caucasus and Mongolia are all potential areas of discontent and active resistance. Russian methods towards her satellites have made them explosive and dangerous.

Russia's self-imposed isolation is understandable. The Iron Curtain is vital for her security. People who have never known freedom regard slavery as quite normal; but if they were to taste freedom they would realize the horrors of slavery. That is why the Iron Curtain has been drawn down.

The West has not been sufficiently active and intelligent in meeting Russian aggression.

The worst answer to Russian penetration into the Middle East is arming the Arab States, for those arms can only be used for aggression against Israel or another Arab State.

I should tell all States in the Middle East that any act of aggression will be met by armed interference by Britain, France and the United States.

There ought to be more active propaganda in Russia and her satellites propounding the advantages of freedom.

Encourage Russians to see Britain, Western Europe and the United States. At the same time restrict the movements of Russian officials and Embassy staffs in exactly the same manner as the Kremlin restricts the staffs of our Embassies in Russia.

If necessary, boycott Russia completely, expel her from the United Nations, refuse trade and restrict shipping.

Less than four years have passed since we signed away our influence in the Middle East through signing the Anglo-Egyptian Agreement on the Suez Canal. We are now eliminated from the Middle East. Worse will follow not only for Britain but for the Nations of the Middle East as well.

Nasser is a successful dictator and, like others of his kind, is drunk with power and terribly ambitious. Having given the British Commonwealth and France real good kicks in the pants, he must now aim at Arabian Empire with Egypt at the top and Nasser as supreme dictator from the Persian Gulf to Morocco; and all this will be received with sympathy by the Kremlin who are experts in scheming, plotting and subversive activities. Russia is going to be of great assistance to Nasser, not only in





perfecting his technique but in supplying all manner of material and technicians.

Nasser's dreams of empire are only equalled by his undying hatred of Britain. He will not rest until he has completely eliminated Britain from the area of his dream-empire. Having secured the Suez Canal he will now concentrate on bullying Sudan and extending his influence to Uganda so as to gain the whole Nile valley. He will also try to make the Red Sea a *mare clausum*, fortifying the coast and islands and extending his influence south to Aden and Yemen. Yemen, under Nasser's and Russian influence, will welcome the idea of taking over Aden. The coast will be fortified, modern weapons and foreign technicians will pour into Yemen and we shall have a nice little war on our hands; we shall not dare to take offensive action against Yemen and bomb her towns for fear of the United States, Nehru and a host of small countries who welcome our dissolution and discomfiture. And our weak politicians will just shrug their shoulders in impotence. Then in 1960, Somalia will rise up and, with Egyptian backing, give support to nationalism in Kenya and so disintegration continues, always with Russian support for spreading their poisonous doctrine. It is all so clear to me, and so obscure to our politicians.

A little firmness and a little strong action, accompanied by plain speaking to the United States and her rigged U.N.O., would stop the rot; but there is nobody in Britain capable of standing up for the Commonwealth. If a strong man arose, he would have the whole country behind him. The way we are going now means either disaster or war. Weakness never achieves anything but disaster.

10.IX.1957. *London*

The Americans owe their present predominant financial and political ascendancy to their delay in entering both the First and Second World Wars, accumulating riches and power at the expense of suffering humanity. And during the presidency of F. D. Roosevelt the American policy was the liquidation of the British Empire, commencing with American intrigue in Persia resulting in our scuttle from Abadan.

Roosevelt himself expressed the opinion that it would be a





good thing for the world to liquidate the British Empire and on another occasion he thought the British Empire was a greater menace to the world than Russia and communism. And to this man we erect a statue in Grosvenor Square.

They also conducted a policy of anti-colonialism which they have replaced by a vicious dollar-colonialism and arms-colonialism. They have been busy for years in the Middle East on the fascinating job of liquidating British colonialism and undermining British influence. This American activity is especially hard to stomach but they persist in it, although it is repeatedly demonstrated that the chief beneficiaries are the enemies of us all. Russia does not have to do anything; the apples fall ripe into her capacious lap. America—and to a lesser extent Britain—have for many years flooded the Middle East with arms out of all proportion to what is required for defence and are now aggrieved to find these arms being used for aggression against Israel and the Sudan.

The American attitude towards what they call colonialism is sheer hypocrisy. They forget that the real Americans are the Red Indians; that the vast tracts of the United States and Canada were the homes of the Red Indians. There was an orgy of bloodshed and slaughter, the indigenous tribes being exterminated and confined to reserves; the Red Indian rebelled against the newcomers and was decimated and deprived of his land; and not only the Indians but the new American colonists went out and slaughtered thousands of buffalo for the love of killing. The real Americans did not like it and hit back; they were regarded as vermin, to be stamped out like the buffalo. The Indians were herded into reserves, plied with cheap liquor and lost their freedom.

Let me quote Churchill's *Great Democracies*:

'The Red Men, the original inhabitants, age-long product of soil and climate, shrank back, pushed, exploited, but always disdainful, from the arms, and still more from the civilization, of the transplanted European society by which they were ousted and eclipsed. The Black Men (negro slaves) presented a problem, moral, social, economic, and political, the like of which had never before been known. It was said that both these races were downtrodden by White ascendancy





as truly as animals are mastered, used, or exterminated by mankind. The proud red-skin was set upon his road to ruin by an excessive liberty. Almost all the four million Negroes were slaves.'

And again:

'The settlement of the West could only take place if the Indian barrier were removed. Already by the time of the Civil War the Indian had been obliged to retreat across half the Continent in the face of White advance. Now, as the Red Man was harried out of his last refuge, a further tragic chapter was added to the story. The threat to their hunting grounds, and indeed to their whole existence, delivered by the onrush of civilization impelled the nomadic tribes of the Great Plains to resist the invaders with determination and savagery. From the Sioux and the Crows of the north to the Comanche and Apache of the south, these warlike tribesmen were magnificent horsemen and intrepid fighters. Yet their final defeat was inevitable . . . But the fatal blow was the wholesale slaughter of the bison. By the early 1870's between two and three million bison were being killed annually for their hides. On the bison the Indian of the Plains had relied not only for food, but for a great variety of other things, from clothing to fuel. When the bison was virtually exterminated, nomadic life became impossible. The Indians had to comply with the Government's plans and be herded into reservations.'

And yet the Americans have the impertinence to talk of British colonialism. Wherever we have colonized territory we have endeavoured to give the indigenous inhabitants improved security, health and education services, eventually leading up to autonomy. It has not always been successful but our aims have been, not extermination, but freedom.

It was the Americans who retained slavery of the African long after Europe had abandoned it; and even to-day the descendants of these unfortunate Africans are regarded as something unclean and are denied the elementary rights of free citizens.

When the Americans gained their independence they modelled their constitution very largely upon that which they





had cast off; they seldom recollect that they also were at the beginning colonists and practised in a much more vicious manner a form of colonialism infinitely worse than anything Britain has done in her colonies; that is why they dislike us and aim at the disruption of our Empire with the able assistance of our professional politicians.

American influence on the British has been disastrous. American films of horror, violence and sex have saturated Britain with these vices. America and Americans' ways are largely responsible for the deterioration of both manners and customs in Britain. Everything from America must be new and best; fame is associated with violence, glamour, vulgarity, sex and the like. Cocktails, vulgarity in clothing, especially socks and ties, crime and vice have invaded Britain from America. Modern youth has surrendered to everything American. It is the American way of life which matters to-day. Our young people think American, dress American, eat and drink American, speak what they think is American, cut their hair like Americans and the girls wear jeans. Hamburgers, hot dogs and Coca-Cola are preferred to roast beef and good ale.

The home is no longer the dominant feature in Britain. The habit of church-going had its impetus from the home. Religion is discipline and modern youth, like American youth, hates any form of discipline; children no longer have any respect for their parents; vulgar americanisms such as 'Pop' for 'Daddy' have crept in.

In criticizing United States policy I wish to draw a very sharp line between the United States administration and American citizens, among whom I have many good friends, some of them in perfect accord with my views. The Americans have many good traits—they are warm-hearted, hospitable, generous, intelligent and charitable; but once contact is made with officialdom, most of these traits disappear and objectionable national characteristics come to the surface.

World leadership has now passed to the United States whose experience is limited due to immaturity and inexperience. For centuries we supplied world leadership and, however much we may regret having to accept United States supremacy, we must





co-operate and not obstruct whilst insisting that we are partners and not servants. The United States are apt to think that the weight of dollars spells the degree of efficiency; consistency and integrity in foreign policy are the ingredients of success and if the U.S.A. would sometimes listen to the advice of British statesmen (if such exist to-day) when various crises arise, the Western Alliance, which is vital for our security, would be the stronger.

7.x.1957. *Wiltshire*

I am shocked to see the United States are still pouring arms into Jordan; when will they learn sense; the U.S.A. in sheer stupidity think these arms will be used against Russian arms in Syria, but in fact they are all going to be used against Israel, or by the Arab States, fighting among themselves.

16.x.1957. *London*

Kruschev has addressed a long letter to seven European Socialist Parties, including the British Labour Party. Apart from the ill manners of going behind the British Government, the letter contains all the old accusations of imperialism and aggression of which Russia alone is guilty. Russia is responsible for stirring up trouble in Egypt. Russia has poured arms into Syria and Egypt, and without any foundation accuses Turkey of planning an invasion of Syria.

The political importance of the Arab States is not so much the oil they own, but the use such decadent and backward States can be to unscrupulous Powers like Russia. There is no doubt that Russia has discovered the weak spot and is making fullest use of it; her policy in the Middle East is stiffening as America and ourselves indulge in nothing but fruitless talk.

If I were Macmillan I should return Kruschev's letter to the Kremlin, telling him politely that he is a liar and a cad; I should then invite Israel to join the Baghdad Pact even if it meant the resignation of Iraq, and I should claim the sovereignty of Sinai and occupy it. It is time drastic action was taken, replacing the inevitable talk of professional politicians.

The coinage of democracy has become debased all over the world, parliamentary government is the reverse of democracy and the world's affairs are in the hands of professional politicians





and diplomats who disregard the wishes of the people; and worse, the people are apathetic and inarticulate.

The main causes of the world's unhappiness and chaos are Communism and its export from Russia, an almost universal craving for nationalism, Russia's imperialistic and colonial ambitions including a dozen European countries which she dominates, the desire of the United States to break up the British Empire when she cannot, owing to her immaturity, take our place; the impotence of the United Nations and N.A.T.O. and American dominance over world diplomacy; it is also an age of talk and wrangle with nobody strong enough to take action.

Russia's sputnik, her little tin box careering round the world, has exposed American efficiency and calls for closer co-operation between American and British physicists. The Middle East has never before been so full of conflict; Israel has never before been so neglected. Cyprus is in turmoil; Africa is crying for self-government; South Africa is trampling on the African; North Africa is in rebellion against the French; Nehru refuses a just settlement in Kashmir; China dominates Tibet; Germany is divided and resents partition.

The Free World is unhappy; Russia feels she is on top of the world and does as she likes. All we do is to talk, send commissions to disturbed areas, protests to Russia but never a sign of determined action.

21.x.1957. *London*

From what I hear Russia is going to boil over in the near future; there are all the signs of struggle for power and discontent in the highest circles. There is little doubt that they are in an intoxicated mood due to their little sputnik. Krushev thinks he has frightened the West with his little tin box and might do anything stupid; he will not embark on a hot war—of that I am certain, but he will spread the communist virus and do as much if not more harm than fighting battles and sacking cities. Krushev will embark on a new form of barbarism.

The only thing we in the West have to fear is fear itself; we have been amazingly stupid in fearing Russia and in failing to stand up to her and beating her at her own game. What we





want is bold leadership, replacing talk by action.



Our first duty is to stop arming the Arab States and appeasing them; and at the same time encourage and become friends with Israel, the only stable and reliable force in the Middle East. And we must persuade the United States to do likewise. If the present drift continues, we shall face disaster.



12.XI.1957. *London*

And now we and the United States continue our criminal policy of arming Arab States—this time, Tunis. France is furious as it means that much of these arms will drift into Algeria where France has a second Cyprus on her hands. It is all done for fear Russia might give arms to Tunis. If France, when we were in difficulties in Cyprus, had sent arms to Greece, we should certainly have considered it an unfriendly act. If France fails in North Africa, the whole North African populations will turn to Egypt and then to Russia.

Our basic trouble is that we cannot find the determination to stand up to Russia, taking a very strong line. We should have the whole of the Free World behind us. I should tell Russia, flatly, she must stop her cold war tactics, stop interfering in other countries, stop arming our potential enemies. If she would not listen, then I should outlaw her, send all Russian embassies and individuals back to Russia, disallow trade, refuse entry of her ships to ports of the Free World and conduct a vigorous propaganda in Russia and all her satellites.

15.XI.1957. *London*

Yemen, backed by Russia and Egypt, has been raiding and murdering in the Aden Protectorate for months past. Instead of teaching them a good lesson in Yemen we invite a young Crown Prince to London; he has arrived; when passing through Cairo, he said his aim was to achieve the complete evacuation of British troops from the Aden Protectorate; he also said his country was Russia's friend. And we ask him to come to London with a view to appeasing him. It is politically inept and morally indefensible.

A blockade of the Yemen coast together with a good bombing raid on Ta'iz would bring Yemen to heel; but, and a big but,



we should be branded as an aggressor before the Security Council; the U.S.A. and her satellites would vote against us and we should have a second Suez Crisis. The Disunited Nations have become a body which refuses to allow countries to defend themselves and encourages aggression by small irresponsible States like Yemen.

But this quarrel with the Yemen is nothing compared to what will happen when Somalia gets her independence in 1960. The whole of that part of the world from South-west Arabia to the whole of Ethiopia is going to explode with excitement at a realized nationalism. The Somalis are no mean people like the Arabs and will act with precision and determination so soon as their long-delayed nationalism becomes a reality.

7.XII.1957. *London*

Hammaraskjold has flown to Jerusalem to settle the question as to whether an Israeli convoy to Mount Scopus shall be allowed by Jordan to proceed; the convoy contains nine barrels of oil for the maintenance of the Israeli garrison on Mount Scopus. The whole Israel-Arab situation is a disgrace to the United Nations; the Hebrew University is in Jordan and rapidly decaying; the Jews are not allowed to visit their Holy Places, which, under the Armistice agreement, they are allowed to do. It demonstrates the shocking impotence of the United Nations and the Armistice Commission; Israel is made to suffer whilst nothing is done to enforce decisions of the United Nations where Egypt is concerned. The Suez Canal is still denied to Israel and appeasement of the Arab States at the expense of Israel is still both British and American policy.

It was in large part due to American pressure and the American policy that we abandoned Abadan and the Suez Canal. When, in 1955, Britain and France sought means to counter Nasser's seizure of the Canal Company, it was American diplomacy which negated any positive result. And later, when Britain and France embarked on the Suez venture which with an ounce more iron determination would have succeeded and would have rallied the support of the nations of Europe and of the vast majority of the British people, it was very largely the American Government which caused the campaign to fail.





27.XII.1957. *London*

Eden's Suez disaster was perhaps the greatest and most far-reaching of the past hundred years and marks a turning point in history. It created a focus to which all little scraps of nationalism throughout Africa and Asia could turn; it removed Western influence from the Middle East and encouraged African nationalists and political agitators to turn to Cairo for guidance and encouragement.

Throughout the Middle East and throughout Africa, we shall soon see nationalism, with all the violence of mob and riot, upsetting stable government and reversion to petty little dictators, all modelling themselves on the design of Nasser. The whole of the Middle East and the whole of Africa will want to get rid of the West and throw Western ideas overboard. From Algeria to Iraq and Aden, and from the Mediterranean to the Cape, all are encouraged by our failure at Suez and the final emergence of Nasser, the Egyptian Hitler whose policy is to remove Western influence from the Middle East and destroy Israel. In our African colonies there is much talk about guiding nationalism into constructive channels; but does our idea of constructive channels agree with the Arab or African idea of a constructive channel? At the moment, African and Middle East nationalism is poisoned by anti-White, anti-European and especially anti-British feelings. Nasser is clever enough to make full use of this and will be well primed in the best technique by the Kremlin. He will turn more and more to the Kremlin, Cairo will become more and more the centre, focus and refuge of discontents and agitators throughout Africa and the Middle East. Russia is a good teacher of propaganda and cold war; Nasser will drink in the poison from the Kremlin and hand it out to all Africa reinforced by Egyptian spite and malice.

Nationalism does not care two hoots for better social conditions, better health or security; what it wants is freedom from foreign control at any price, even at the price of personal freedom. It is useless telling the African or the Arab what we think they should have without inquiring what is really their heart's desire; we always base our ideas on democracy; do these backward people want democracy or, if they want it,





could it function among a society where ninety per cent are uneducated? God knows, democracy has the greatest difficulty in functioning where the population is ninety per cent educated.

Our failure over Suez, Eden's lack of determination, bad planning, indecision and then abject surrender, has lit the nationalist bonfire throughout the Middle East and the flames will spread throughout Africa; the only country which will remain stable is Israel; can she exist with the scorching flames of nationalism almost surrounding her? I have faith, but Israel is in for a tough time. I have little doubt that this time next year Nasser will have imposed his brand of nationalism on all Arab countries and that in twenty years time the white man's position in Africa will become impossible; communism will seep in from Russia and nationalism will discover, all too late, that slavery and misery are its fruits.

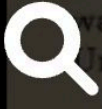
25.VII.1958. *London*

Never before in the history of the world, not even during the Crusades nor during both World Wars, have the waters of the Muddled East and the Sewage Canal been so muddy, polluted with political propaganda and all the poisonous ingredients of nationalism and outside interference.

On July 14th, a bloody revolution broke out in Iraq; the King, the Crown Prince and Nuri were murdered, an officer of the British Embassy murdered and the Embassy burned to the ground. Nuri was one of our best, if not our only friend among the Arab States; the revolution was instigated by Nasser in order to sabotage the Baghdad Pact and hasten his Arab republic. Within a few days the British Government recognize the revolutionary government in Iraq in spite of its anti-British flavour; this is in marked contrast to the many months which elapsed before we recognized the State of Israel whom we shamefully abandoned in 1948.

On July 15th American marines land in Lebanon and on the 17th we drop troops in Jordan. Eisenhower says: 'These forces have not been sent as any act of war' and Macmillan says he would 'prefer to do the wrong thing together than the right thing alone'. In other words, the Americans can commit an act of armed aggression against the will of the majority in





Lebanon and we can do the same in Jordan disregarding the United Nations; but if we and the French land troops to stop war between Israel and Egypt (as happened in 1956) then the United States brands us as aggressors.

On July 19th, Krushchev asks for immediate summit talks with hints and threats of hot war.

Krushchev's demand for a summit conference acted as a bombshell on the West which had no policy. The landings in Jordan and Lebanon were described as armed aggression and only served to inflate the hatred of the West in Arab countries. It is true that both Lebanon and Jordan asked for intervention but it should have been refused. The landings were an error. It is so easy to enter and so difficult to quit. Armed interference cannot help peace and security. Our landings keep in power unpopular governments against the will of the people. We cannot hope to prop up artificial and unpopular governments whose frontiers and whole make-up are counterfeit, the outcome of Lawrence's dream of Hashemite supremacy and Churchill's makeshift methods.

And when we do go, as eventually we must, Nasser and Krushchev will see to it that murder and arson replace these unpopular governments. Nothing we can do can prevent Jordan and Lebanon becoming members of Nasser's Arab Republic.

The allied occupation of Lebanon and Jordan may give temporary relief to Israel on parts of her frontier but in the end when allied troops evacuate, pent-up hatred and violence must cause increased anxiety especially on the Jordan-Israel frontier and may tempt Israel to recover what rightly belongs to her west of the River Jordan.

Krushchev's suggestion of a summit meeting produced a spate of headlines, leading articles, diplomatic confusion and wrangle out of all proportion to the importance of the letter. The exchange of insults and insinuations produced a bungling almost amounting to genius. Suspicions distorted the real issue, but all served to expose the complete lack of policy in the West; and everything was irritated by conflicting opinions of men like De Gaulle and Pandit Nehru, the one bitter as he was not consulted about the landings and the latter proffering advice which he would do well to follow himself.





Confusion reigned as to who should meet Krushchev, where we should meet Krushchev and when we shall meet the man; and complete ignorance as to why we shall meet Krushchev and what we are going to say when we do meet him. The West had no clear policy and our intrusion into Jordan and Lebanon muddled the muddled waters of the Middle East so that nobody could see daylight. Eisenhower says he cannot guarantee the security of Krushchev in the United States and Krushchev guarantees the safety of Ike in Moscow. The whole atmosphere is charged with fear of war, desire for appeasement, the risks of interference, uncertainty of Russia's intentions and in fact all the ingredients of an excited monkeyhouse.

Before any summit meeting the ground must be cleared, for it is obvious that if Krushchev's policy is but a reflection of Nasser's, no solution involving peace and security is possible. As the destruction of Israel is the main objective of the Arabs, so the defence of Israel must be the main concern of those nations interested in the Middle East; the destruction of Israel would be a world disaster and a disgrace to civilization.

Therefore, before contemplating a summit meeting, I should ask Krushchev if he would be prepared to join the West in guaranteeing the sovereignty of Israel, in compelling the Arab States to establish peace with Israel and in stopping all further supplies of arms to the Arab States. Without such an assurance from Krushchev there is no possibility of arriving at a solution and a summit meeting would be a waste of time. Any debate on the Middle East within the structure of the United Nations is doomed to failure and could only complicate the vital issues at stake unless they are summitry talks. Too many cooks spoil the broth and Political Eunuchs cannot have children.

If Krushchev agrees to the above condition, then by all means have a summit meeting within the machinery of the United Nations. The following principles should govern the meeting:

(1) That Arab nationalism is welcomed always provided there is no direct or indirect aggression, or interference in the internal affairs of other States, especially through broadcasting propaganda.

(2) That a United Nations Commission be formed to assist





all Middle East countries, including Israel, in peaceful development including health and education services, and Arab refugees.

(3) The reopening of the Iraq-Haifa oil pipeline.

(4) That acts of aggression whether direct or indirect be met by immediate sanctions.

(5) That a United Nations Security Force be recruited from all nations and to comprise all three fighting services. All nationalities to be mixed up regardless of religion or race, that all ranks be highly paid and of exemplary character and that the force be long service and pensionable.

(6) That freedom of navigation of the Suez Canal in peace and war be guaranteed.





Epilogue

The Jews entered Palestine (Canaan) from Egypt about 1,500 years before the birth of Jesus; the dispersal took place about AD 200. Palestine had therefore been their home for about 1,700 years; since their dispersal they have been subjected to every kind of indignity, torture and slaughter. And yet during 1,750 years in isolated colonies from Pakistan to Morocco and from the United States to South Africa they have retained their racial distinction and have not disintegrated except in very few cases of compulsory conversion to Islam. I believe it was the Jewish religion which prevented disintegration. Dispersed Jewry remained Jews for 1,750 years not on account of language but because of their religious unity. That was no small achievement.

To the Jew the ultimate meaning of human life is disclosed in the Old Testament. The Exodus is recalled and again enacted at the Passover. The Mosaic Faith represented a radical break from the polytheism of the surrounding world. God became the Lord of Nature, using the powers of Nature to accomplish his purpose.

The Jewish religion is a way of living, permeating everyday life with small but sacred ceremonial acts. Their religion is more than a simple belief and more than moral guidance; all life is embraced in their religion. It is this practical aspect of Jewish religion which has helped them to survive; no people could have endured on a foundation of general human faith and morality. Moreover the ceremonial of the Jewish religion is reduced to a minimum in contrast with the pomp and sometimes vulgar ceremonial of some of the Christian versions of Christianity. I often wonder what Jesus' reaction would be if





He saw the Vatican during a Papal coronation, or what would be His reaction if He saw the Dean of an English Cathedral being ushered to the pulpit by two acolytes walking backwards in front of him.

When staying at the King David Hotel in Jerusalem in 1958, I suffered a practical demonstration of the Jewish religion permeating everyday life. I am not a meat eater, preferring cheese, butter and milk to hunks of beef and beer. At lunch and dinner I was not allowed either cheese, butter or milk. On asking why, I was told 'kosher'; and this was later clarified by the saying 'Thou shalt not cook the calf in its mother's milk'. So, whilst butcher's meat was being served in the restaurant I was not allowed my lunch, contenting myself with dry bread and lettuce leaves soaked in vinegar. And for this, and a bedroom overlooking the Old City, I was charged seven English pounds a day. I came across this 'kosher' and that blessed calf again in the restaurant of a hostel; the Director, recently arrived from America, asked me to lunch with him; I declined, saying I could not get the food I wanted owing to that blessed calf. The manager was sent for. 'Bunk,' roared the Director. 'Bring this gentleman the food he wants at once'; and it came.

I believe all Israelis harbour an element of religious truth, some unconsciously, which permeates into their army; I believe that all leadership and military discipline is prompted by religious truth; there must be no hatred, no cruelty, nothing which conflicts with the spirit of Christianity though it is unnecessary to be a confessed Christian. And incidentally there is nothing in the teachings of Jesus which cannot be found in the Old Testament.

When in the Army I always tried to drum religious truth and spiritual purpose into my men; I believe it to be the root of discipline and success in battle; but I believe the Israeli army is naturally inspired by spiritual purpose, which is fundamental in the Jewish code of behaviour; and I believe that these are the basic causes of Israel's successes in battle.

Just a word about those Jews who have taken foreign nationality. I discriminate between these and those who have





returned to Israel. The former are Jews, the latter are Israelis. It is unkind for Israelis to despise Jews who do not wish to leave their adopted country. Their reasons are in the main justified.

Theodor Herzl created the Zionist movement under pressure of persecution. He put Zionism on the map and in Palestine, discarding Uganda, the Congo, the Argentine and other suggestions. But when Herzl died in 1904, Jewish sovereignty in Palestine was as far off as ever. The First World War, removing every head of State with whom Herzl had negotiated—Germany, Russia, Italy, Turkey, Austria—and removing Turkish sovereignty from Palestine, at last gave the Zionists under Weizmann, their opportunity in the form of the Balfour Declaration, a document drafted by British statesmen. If Herzl was the architect of Zionism, Weizmann can truly be said to have fulfilled the Divine Promise and to have built Israel on Herzl's plan. If Herzl was the first Jewish statesman since the destruction of Jerusalem, Weizmann was the second.

In 1917 the Balfour Declaration at last gave the Jews the opportunity to rebuild their National Home in Palestine. It is grossly untrue that we bought Jewish support in the First War by giving the Jews a right to build their National Home in Palestine. Two of the authors of the Declaration envisaged a Sovereign Jewish State as the ultimate end of Zionism. The contradiction in the Balfour Declaration is obvious and is a masterpiece of rendering an important document one hundred per cent nonsense. Almost certainly the wording emanated from A. J. B. But, all the same, it gave the Jews an opportunity and they seized it.

The Balfour Declaration acknowledged the right of the Jewish people to rebuild their National Home in Palestine, that is to say in the Palestine as defined in Paris in 1919, which included the whole of the British Mandated Palestine. This was confirmed by the League of Nations, thereby giving the Balfour Declaration international recognition. In November 1947, the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted a resolution requiring the establishment of a Jewish State in Palestine.

Neither the Balfour Declaration, nor its confirmation by the





League of Nations, nor the resolution by the General Assembly of the United Nations, nor the original boundaries of Mandated Palestine have been revoked. They still live and are binding.

It is impossible to establish a true Jewish life anywhere except in Palestine, since the Jews' attachment to the land of the Israelites is fundamentally different from a people's usual attachment to their home. Primarily, it is not a physical Palestine which attracts the Jews; Palestine is a memory, a hope, a Promised Land. Gentiles should appreciate and sympathize with the divine element underlying the eternal pilgrimage of the Jewish soul to Zion. And on the more practical side, the colonization of Palestine under the Zionists is one of the most hopeful adventures of modern times. The Jewish centres of communal life in Palestine are to me the most interesting social phenomena since 1918.

There has been much confusion about the definition of Palestine. When asked in Paris in 1919 as to the meaning of Palestine, Mr Lloyd George said 'The area occupied by the twelve tribes of Israel, from Dan to Beersheba'. In the same year in Paris Lloyd George asked me what I considered to be Palestine. I replied the land occupied by the Jews at the birth of Christ. Lloyd George stuck to his 'Dan to Beersheba', but Dan could not be found on any map. I explained that Dan was a district at the southern base of Mount Hermon and at the head of the waters of the River Jordan. I mapped the area which I regarded as biblical Palestine. This was bounded on the north by the Litani River and the whole of the catchment area of the River Jordan from the southern slopes of Hermon south through Moab to the head of the Gulf of Aqaba and thence along the Egyptian-Turkish administrative frontier to Gaza. Both Lloyd George and Balfour agreed to this boundary but the French objected that the whole of Hermon must be included within Syria.

So Palestine came to include from Dan to Beersheba and the Transjordan catchment area of the Jordan valley. This was further whittled down in 1921 when Mr Churchill presented the Emir Abdullah with Transjordan, thus depriving the Jews of a valuable expansion area.

The whole atmosphere of discussions and arguments about





the position of Israel in the Middle East centres around the past, interpretations of documents, etc. Everyone tries to attach blame on somebody else and there is little constructive thought on how Middle East problems can be solved: there is also a refusal to accept Israel as a new State and moreover a permanent, very permanent factor in any future policy in the Middle East.

Recent visits to Israel have confirmed my view that she is setting an example to the world in human behaviour. First and foremost is the conspicuous good manners, lack of vulgarity and predominant humility. Humility is a rare human trait especially among nations. In Israel it is a natural virtue.

In spite of British lack of sympathy for Zionism throughout the thirty years of Mandatory government, in spite of restrictions placed on immigration and land purchase, in spite of abandoning the country to an experimental orgy of anarchy and British failure to observe neutrality during Israel's War of Independence, during nearly two months stay in Israel in 1953, I never heard one word of bitterness against Britain, nor even against Egypt and the other Arab States. On the contrary, there is a very British background in Israeli life—one sees it in the army, in the high percentage of English-speaking Israelis and in the high percentage of British literature in Israeli homes. Hatred is not part of the Jewish character. One young Israelite, paraphrasing Nurse Cavell's words, said 'Patriotism is not enough; there must be no hatred in our hearts'.

The attacks made on the early Christian Church by the Roman Empire created the spirit of persecution which the Christian Church itself developed when she got the upper hand and which continued to be the bane of Christendom for fifteen hundred years and still persists to a lesser degree in the Church of Rome. It is remarkable that the Jews, who have undergone persecution for 2,000 years, should be themselves immune from persecuting others; indeed they are the most tolerant people, but perhaps in years to come, when they feel more secure, the spirit of persecution might arise; we shall see.

Another Israelite virtue is kindness. In Israel the children are the privileged aristocracy and the primary care of the parents and the State. If rations are short, the children must





not go without even if the parents do. They are also rooted on the land from the very start, a sure foundation for sound citizenship. This kindness extends to animals. Shooting for sport—for the pleasure of killing—is almost unknown in Israel. Disturbance of nature is frowned on. Animal and plant life is preserved; there is no desire to destroy or disturb.

Great importance is attached to education. It has been said that the Jew is born educated; in no country in the world has education reached such a high standard as in Israel. The army is the chosen educational instrument, a means of transforming a mixed population, drawn together from many countries, into a nation imbued with a pioneering spirit; Israel is peculiarly a holy nation, cemented by religion and age-old tradition, and now a coherent people, united in language, religion, homeland and purpose. Religion in Israel is not conspicuous nor much spoken of. But anyone attending Passover cannot but be profoundly impressed. The Jewish religious services are marked by simplicity; the elaborate dogma and ritual of Christianity are entirely absent. The religious traditions which have kept alive the remembrance of the Promised Land for nearly 2,000 years are fully present in Israel to-day. It is true that few Jews openly talk about them, but they are present none the less; perhaps they lie too deep to be expressed.

In Israel one meets all types, many seeking refuge from persecution, their souls wounded beyond repair, others from their loathing of hebraphobia. When I was staying in a Kibbutz in Israel, in 1953, I asked an Israeli who hailed from Birmingham, why he had come to Israel. He replied: 'Because I was fed up with being called a "Bloody little Jew" almost every week of my life.' I also asked a Russian mother why she had come. She said: 'Because I did not wish to be murdered and see my daughters raped by the Russians.'

Theodor Herzl in his autobiography says:

'Palestine where we can have hooked noses, black or red beards, and bandy legs, without being despised for it. Where at last we can live as free men on our own soil, and where we can die tranquilly in our own homeland. Where we can expect the reward of honour for great deeds; where we shall live at peace with the world which we have freed by





our freedom, enriched by our wealth and made greater by our greatness.'

It is a pity there is no law of libel to protect groups of peoples as well as individuals and corporations. Then indeed the Jews would make their fortunes.

Herzl said that territory is the body of a nation, language its soul. The Jews have a deep passion for their homeland. This is all the more remarkable as by far the majority of Israelis are town-bred. In Israel, the passion for the land, the hills, the valleys, the trees and flowers is intense. This is reflected to a remarkable degree in an almost universal desire to preserve the fauna and flora of the country. Public opinion is against shooting for sport and efforts are being made to re-introduce the fallow deer and the roe-deer, and establish a nature reserve at Huleh before the lake is drained and its unique flora and fauna destroyed for ever. The absence of killing for sport has had an immediate effect on the numbers of ibex and gazelle one sees and in the tameness of game birds.

This desire for preservation is a great national asset. Peoples change but countries do not, and this love of their homeland is building up in the Middle East a stable force which should go far to counteract the political instability of the past forty years.

A race, as opposed to a Nation, has roots. If torn up by its roots, as the Jews were from Palestine, the spiritual home of that race is in its own soil. It cannot thrive and develop in other soil.

Unlike other races which have been assimilated, the Jew has never lost the yearning for his own particular patch of soil in Palestine. Heaven knows, it is small enough; but that makes it all the more dear to him, more essential to him and more vital for his existence. That desire for his own soil will never die in the Jew so long as there are Jews in the world.

The Jews are a Nation: the Arabs are a religion. They are a Race with roots still in their home. Jerusalem is the Jewish holy centre, the spiritual focus of the people. Their temple remains in Jerusalem. The Jews are a peculiar phenomenon in world history; some say, only so long as Gentiles insist on keeping them so. But in fact they have kept themselves so. The Jews





have more bad qualities than Western Europeans; on the other hand they have more and better good qualities than the latter. Abbé Gregoire said, 'Oh Nations, if you record the past faults of the Jews, let it be to deplore your own work.' Ignorance of the Jewish character has been partly responsible for the British attitude towards Zionism. The Jew has his faults, but he is no coward. When he trades he may be sharp and whimpering but in battle there is no whining. He hates war and bloodshed and will go to almost any length to live a peaceful life; but there is a point beyond which one cannot impose on Jewry.

The Jews claim that they are the chosen people. Sometimes I wonder if there is not some error in that doctrine and that the Almighty really chose the British. On no other hypothesis could we have survived the errors of our politicians during the past fifty years.

The upsurge of nationalism has been very marked in the Middle East; in fact it is at the root of the muddle. Every nation, however small, wishes to govern itself, even though that government be corrupt and inefficient. If self-government is not granted the professional agitators, thirsting for power, whip the people up to violence and hatred; then the occupying power grants self-government even though the country is not fit for it; the people become an autonomous nation with responsibilities far too onerous for the handful of agitators who screamed themselves hoarse in demanding what they could not use. Then comes the second phase, a reaction against former domination; it is marked by arrogance, insult and corruption; in fact all the ingredients of dictatorship; there is a refusal to recognize that the new-won independence is limited by the independence of others. The new State becomes imperialist and arrogant.

The birth of Israel is a remarkable exception; the country was fit for self-government even before the Mandate terminated: there was no corruption or inefficiency when Israel grasped her independence; arrogance is unknown in Israel; humility is a marked characteristic. Whereas most little countries, assuming independence, pick some silly quarrel with their neighbours, Israel's oft-repeated policy is a genuine desire for peace.

Israel's pattern of nationalism and her struggle for political





independence has been quite different from the usual pattern. The first phase, the struggle and achievement, has not been followed by aggression, boasting and political bad manners. Asia and a great deal of Europe have failed to see Israel as a nation fighting desperately for her independence; the return of the Jews to their old home was regarded as a gross injustice and an unwarranted intrusion.

Israel's assumption of nationhood is one of the few examples in history of better government and greater prosperity following independence. Israel's success has been due to consistency and courage. Survival is the impetus which has enabled her to survive, fortified by her history, her religion and the intelligence of her people.

Independence has to be won and deserved. Israel has won her independence because she deserved it.

As the Jewish National Home was the most important and most constructive outcome of the First World War, so was the Sovereign State of Israel the direct and most important outcome of the Second World War. The Jewish State is a world necessity.

I am convinced that Israel will become the core of a spiritual influence, much needed and powerful in the history of mankind; a stable and progressive government in Palestine would provide a new, purer and more living religion based on tolerance for a world which is lapsing into a dead materialism. When the full power of Israel is developed, Jerusalem rebuilt and the Temple restored, then will the Holy Land become a spiritual centre for the whole world.

I often think that the Jewish outlook on life, Jewish philosophy and sociology, Jewish tolerance and the many qualities they have developed through 2,000 years of suffering, are far ahead of anything in the Gentile community. Looking back over the centuries one can see the gradual spread of Jewish influence in the world. From the meanest outcasts they have slowly risen into the upper strata of society, they have more and more taken up responsible positions in the world and to-day we find not a few but many, very many, Jews in America, Britain and Russia occupying positions high up in the business world and high up in the scientific world and high up in the political world. The position of the Jews in Germany and Austria was no





less distinguished before the Hitler virus took hold. During the last hundred years the Jews have made vast strides towards solving their own problem. What will happen during the next hundred years?

There are already signs that hebraphobia is dying, to be replaced by respect and admiration; we may yet see in Israel an example which the world would do well to emulate before the human race destroys itself by disease, famine or violence.

Israel's supreme failure, through no fault of her own, is that after ten years she has not come to terms with her neighbours; this makes her economic and social progress all the more remarkable in face of the major part of her slender revenue being taken up in defence. Egypt knows, all the Arab States know, that by themselves they cannot eliminate Israel; they also know and Israel knows that a major war will not be started by Britain or the United States in defence of Israel no matter how many agreements and treaties are signed. The Israelis know they are more than a match for the Arabs; but they also know they cannot hope for success against the Soviet Union.

Britain's supreme failure, due to appeasement of the Arab States, fear of friendship with Israel lest the Arabs be offended and partly, I regret, to that foul disease hebraphobia, has resulted in arming the Arab States whose sole purpose is attacking Israel; this has led to a most regrettable estrangement between Israel and Britain to the disadvantage of both. Britain has never appreciated what a lasting friendship with Israel would mean. As long ago as 1902, Theodor Herzl, during an interview with Joseph Chamberlain, said 'In El Arish and Sinai there is empty land. England can give us that. In return she would gain an increase of her power and the gratitude of ten million Jews.' And again to Lord Rothschild 'You may claim high credit from your government if you strengthen British influence in the Near East by the colonization of our people at a strategic point.'

The gulf between Jew and Arab is wide and deep, and yet they have much in common. Both are children of the desert; they are both Semites—descendants of Shem—and they share the basic beliefs of monotheism. The Jew has progressed and reached the summit of modern civilization, the Arab has





stagnated and only recently have the rumblings of progress been apparent. And yet these two peoples, with so much in common, are bitterly hostile, the Arab wishing to exterminate the Jew as an intruding stranger, and the Jew only too anxious for Arab friendship, but not at any price, and prepared to proffer assistance in return for good neighbourship. Moreover, the Arab has a lot to learn from the Jew and could profit much from co-operation. But his selfish brand of nationalism, based on destruction and hatred, forbids him taking advantage of Israeli culture. Israel could give valuable assistance to neighbouring Arab States in agriculture, water conservation, education, health and hygiene; but the door is slammed by hatred.

I have met many Jews; being oriental, their looks are often repugnant to the insular British; I have met many nasty Jews and just as many nasty Christians and Mohammedans. One outstanding Jewish characteristic is persistence; they will not take No for an answer and that was our main trouble in Palestine during the Mandate; the officers of the Administration found Jews troublesome because they were intellectually superior; I have often been present at interviews when the Jew got the better of an argument much to the British official's annoyance.

Most Europeans find Jews unattractive owing to some little oriental mannerism in speech or deportment; I have heard it said that we English drink in hebephobia with our mothers' milk; there is certainly a sign of inherited contempt and I often wonder if Jewish insistence on the crucifixion of Jesus may not lay at the root of dislike of Jews by Christians, forgetting that Pilate sentenced Jesus who was himself a pure Jew.

The Arab with his picturesque clothes and romantic surroundings, has always appealed to Englishmen; his simple mind, often a cloak for stupidity, and his dignity, usually a cloak for lack of humour, has always appealed to those who administer him. It is remarkable how many English men and women have fallen in love with Arabs and the Desert and how many eccentrics, ancient and modern, have sprung from those two influences.

Throughout Arabia one often comes across Arabs with so much negro blood in them that it would be difficult to dis-





tinguish them from Africans. Many are slaves, and all the descendants of slaves. I have noticed that those with African blood show more intelligence and certainly a greater sense of honour than the pure Arab; they also have the reputation of being more honest.

ISRAEL'S PROBLEMS

Security. The burden of defence against an Arab attack, in defiance of United Nations resolutions, is crippling but vital for survival. The 'security' problem could be solved at once if Turkish Sinai, which does not belong to Egypt, were occupied either by Britain or the United Nations.

Economy. Israel's economy is based on German reparations and charity. It is vital that exports should go up; they are doing so slowly; but it is going to be a close race between exports and insolvency.

Immigration. Can Israel absorb the ingathering during the next few years? It is not only a drain on income but on available land. This could be solved by restoring to Israel what rightly belongs to her—Mandated Palestine.

Arab Refugees. Every country is responsible for its own refugees. The Arab States could solve this problem tomorrow if they wished, for they have vast areas of undeveloped land and huge funds derived from oil. But they prefer to use the sufferings of thousands of their own people as political propaganda.

Arab Co-operation. At the moment, any form of economic co-operation between Israel and the Arab States is impossible. But it should be an ideal not a dream. The Arabs have a lot to learn from Israel; hate leads nowhere.

ERRORS AND OMISSIONS

Failure of H.M.G. to occupy Turkish Sinai and permitting Egyptian sovereignty to extend to the frontiers of Palestine.
Responsibility: Foreign Office.

Failure to adopt the Meinertzhagen Line as boundary of Palestine in 1919. *Responsibility:* H.M.G. and French.





Severing Jordan from Palestine. *Responsibility*: Churchill and Lawrence.

Abandoning Israel to her fate in 1948 before she was prepared to defend herself, H.M.G. knowing well that the Arab States would attack. *Responsibility*: Bevin.

Bringing pressure to bear on Israel to stop fighting in 1948 at a moment when it was obvious that Egypt was about to receive a crushing defeat. *Responsibility*: Bevin.

Stopping Israel reaching the Suez Canal in 1956 when she would have internationalized it; and then allowing Egypt to re-occupy Sinai east of the Rafa-Suez Line, an area which does not belong to her. *Responsibility*: Eden.





Chronological Table of Events of Importance for Israel

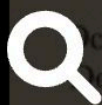
B.C.	
1700-1500	Abraham, Isaac and Jacob.
1600-1400	Exodus from Egypt, wanderings in Sinai and conquest of Canaan.
1150-1050	Saul, David and Solomon.
c. 1000	David establishes capital in Jerusalem.
c. 960	Solomon builds the Temple.
587	Babylonian captivity; destruction of Jerusalem.
538-515	Return from Babylonian captivity; rebuilding of Temple in Jerusalem.
333	Alexander the Great conquers Israel.
63	Commencement of Roman domination.
37 B.C. to A.D. 4	King Herod.
2 B.C.	Birth of Jesus of Nazareth
A.D.	
30 or 33	The Crucifixion.
66	Revolt of Jews against Romans.
70	Destruction of Jerusalem.
636	Commencement of Arab domination.
1099	Crusaders capture Jerusalem.
1291	End of Crusader Rule.
1516	Ottoman conquest.
1799	Invasion by Napoleon.
1890	Herzl advocates revival of Jewish State.
1917	Balfour Declaration.
1918	British occupation of Palestine.





- 1922 British Mandate over Palestine confirmed by League of Nations.
- 1937 Peel Commission proposes partition with a Jewish State in part of Palestine.
- 1939 British White Paper restricting Jewish immigration, land purchase and settlement.
- 1946 Anglo-American Committee recommend the reversal of the 1939 White Paper and the immediate admission of 100,000 Jews into Palestine.
- 1947 United Nations Assembly resolve on the partition of Palestine into Jewish and Arab States. This is immediately followed by Arab attacks on Jews in towns and in the country.
- 1948
- May 14 Sir Alan Cunningham, the last High Commissioner in Palestine, sailed from Haifa and the Palestine Mandate ends. The State of Israel is proclaimed and is recognized by the United States.
- May 15 The armies of five Arab States invade Israel.
- May 22 The Security Council demand an unconditional cease-fire.
- May 26 The Arab States, disregarding the Security Council, demand the abrogation of Israel's Statehood.
- June 11 A twenty-eight days' truce is imposed by the United Nations.
- June 30 The last British troops leave Israel.
- July 8 The Arab States resume hostilities and suffer several reverses.
- July 15 The Security Council resolve that, after two months aggression by the Arab States, their action constitutes a breach of the peace and orders a permanent cease-fire under penalty of sanctions.
- July 19 Second truce begins.





Sept. 16

Count Bernadotte shot in Jerusalem.

Oct. 14

Egyptian attacks on Jewish convoys in the Negev re-open hostilities in Sinai.

Oct. 20

Beersheba occupied by Israel.

Dec. 31

Britain threatens to enter the Arab-Israeli War on the side of Egypt unless Israel withdraws from Sinai and just at a moment when complete Egyptian defeat is imminent. Israel complies.

1949

Jan. 2

An Egyptian plane drops bombs on Jerusalem, the first occasion on which bombs have been dropped on the Holy City.

Jan. 7

British aircraft fly over the battle area in South Palestine and Israel shoots down five. British troops move to Aqaba. Fighting in Sinai ceases and five days later peace negotiations commence in Rhodes.

Feb. 16

Dr Weizmann elected President of Israel.

Mar. 10

First regular government in Israel under Ben-Gurion.

May 11

The General Assembly of the United Nations admit Israel to membership.

1951

Sept. 1

The Security Council calls on Egypt to cease her blockade of Israel in the Suez Canal, but without effect.

1952

Nov. 9

Death of President Weizmann.

Dec. 8

Izhak Ben-Zvi elected President of Israel.

1953

From January to June and again in October, Jordan increases her murder and sabotage raids into Israel.

1954

Mar. 20

A resolution in the Security Council calling on Egypt to comply with the 1951 resolution, is vetoed by Russia.





1955

Jan. 4-13

The Security Council calls on Egypt to release the Israeli ship Bat Galim, which was seized on Sept. 28, 1954, in the Suez Canal.

Continued Egyptian raids into Israel through the year.

1956

July 20

It was known that Russia was concentrating in Egypt arms and military equipment far in excess of anything Egypt could use. Most of this was east of the Suez Canal.

July 26

Egypt seizes the property of the Suez Canal Company by force and expels officials whilst compelling pilots to continue work under threat of imprisonment.

Aug. 16

Twenty-two States, excluding Egypt, met in London. The United States suggested an International Board to operate the Canal.

Sept. 12

Britain and France brought the seizure of the Canal to the Security Council.

Sept. 19

A second conference at which Dulles proposed a Canal Users' Association. (Since then, Dulles has steadily watered down his proposal in order to appease Egypt and to favour the 'anti-colonialists'.)

Sept. 23

Britain and France ask the Security Council to act and this was followed next day by a similar request by Egypt. The Security Council discussed the matter at nine meetings (Oct. 5-13) and adopted six principles agreed to by Egypt, one of which was that there should be free and open transit through the Canal without discrimination.

Oct. 24

Throughout January persistent Egyptian attacks on Israeli territory in Sinai. Nasser admits that he personally organizes





Oct. 28

raids into Israel and these raids increase. Egypt, Jordan and Syria announce a unified military command, its main aim being the destruction of Israel.

Britain and the United States warn Israel not to mobilize in face of an imminent attack by Arab States.

Oct. 29

Israeli forces enter Sinai and attack Egypt.

Oct. 30

Britain announces her intention to send forces to occupy the Canal Zone and calls on Israel and Egypt to halt. Israel complies; Egypt refuses.

Nov. 2

Israel occupies Gaza and El Arish. U.N.O. urges a cease-fire. Egyptian airfields attacked by Britain.

Nov. 5

British troops land at Port Said.

Nov. 6

Egypt accepts the cease-fire, but blocks the Canal.

Nov. 15

First units of the United Nations Police Force arrive in Egypt.

1957

Jan. 23

Israel withdraws from Sinai except from Gaza and the Gulf of Aqaba, contingent on adequate guarantees against a renewal of Egyptian aggression.

Feb.

Israel agrees to complete withdrawal conditional on free navigation of the Gulf of Aqaba and U.N.E.F. occupation of the Gaza strip.

Mar. 4

Israel withdraws from Sinai, the United States and many western powers agreeing to the February conditions.

Mar. 14

In spite of Israeli protests, the U.N.E.F. Command fails to prevent the return to Gaza of an Egyptian Administration.

Mar. 18

The United States declares the policy of free passage in the Gulf of Aqaba and United Nations' responsibility in Gaza.





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